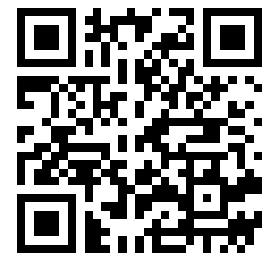
This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

https://books.google.com



MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

DE
1
.B125
no 31

BULLETIN 31
STOCKHOLM 1998

Digitized by Google

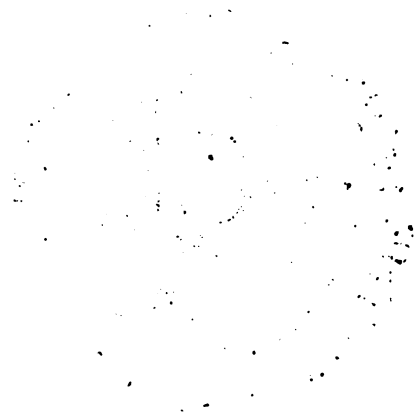
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
1817
LIBRARIES

Digitized by Google

MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

BULLETIN 31
STOCKHOLM 1998



Digitized by Google

Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities
MEDELHAVSMUSEET

Fredsgatan 2, Stockholm
Postal adress: Box 5428, SE-114 84 Stockholm

In this journal, the style of references recommended by the *Opuscula Atheniensia* and the *Opuscula Romana* (*OpRom* 17, 1989, 245–247) is followed. Abbreviations of periodicals and standard works follow the standard usage as in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (vol. 95, 1991, 4–16) and in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie.*

Recommended abbreviation for this journal:
MedMusB

© Medelhavsmuseet 1998
Published with the aid of a grant from the Society of the Friends of the Medelhavsmuseet
Distribution: Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm, Sweden
Edited by Karen Slej
Production by Stefan Hilding
Photos of Stockholm objects by Ove Kaneberg and Margareta Sjöblom
Cover: Assyrian bronze bowl. Photo: Ove Kaneberg
ISSN 0585-3214
Printed by Elanders Gotab AB 1999

Digitized by Google

6rad
41709044
class
4/15/03

Contents

An Assyrian Bronze Bowl 5
PAT MARINO-HULTMAN

La statue d'un haut fonctionnaire saïte 13
HERMAN DE MEULENAERE

Nswj, a Priest in Thebes. A Preliminary Report 22
MARGREET VAN HOEIJ

A Miniature Portrait of a Man with a Clean-shaven Head in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities 51
HEDVIG VON EHRENHEIM

A Julio-Claudian Portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet 74
OLLE SYLVÉN

Medical Instruments or Classical Cosmetic Utensils? Seven copper alloy probes in Stockholm 93
JENNIFER RANDOLPH

The Rawzat al-Ahbâb fî Siyar al-Nabî wa al-Ahl wa al-Ashâb in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities 111
MARIANNE BOQVIST

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

An Assyrian Bronze Bowl

PAT MARINO-HULTMAN

Among the bronzes in the collection of ancient Persian metalwork at the Medelhavsmuseet is a charmingly decorated bowl, Inv. MMLur 428 (*Fig. 1 a–c*). Measuring 18 cm in diameter and 4 cm deep, the bowl has a shiny dark bronze colored surface and a chip missing from the edge.

The low round bowl has a decor scheme centered around a shallow omphalos hammered up from the bottom. The incised decor starts with a circle around the omphalos, followed by a stylized multiple petaled rosette. After that there is a free space, encircled by double concentric rows of dots serving as a ground line for a frieze with three grazing stags separated by three teardrop-shaped buds. These apparently floral motives, perhaps intended to be a lotus blossom, are divided into three sections of which the outer two are striated. Each oblong base of the bud has striated sunbeam radials sketched in below. The well drawn stags have broad moose-like antlers with four points, long pulled back ears, large round eyes, linear mouths, and bent necks. Their bodies are marked with striations indicating fur, and the legs are placed in a well balanced stride. One front and one hind leg meet in the center.

The form of the bowl dates it to the first millennium and the late Assyrian culture sphere. The bowl shape with omphalos occurs frequently in Assyrian bowls, as was found, for example, in Kinik-Kastamonu.[1] The closest bronze parallel in form and style of decor was excavated in the Pusht-i Kuh area of Luristan by Louis Vanden Berghe at Chamahzi Mumah, tomb 37 n. 3, CH 75/3, which he dates to Iron 3 (800/750–600 BC).[2] According to Glenn Markoe, the Chamahzi Mumah bowl demonstrates a Phoenician style which reached Iran via Assyria.[3] When Annie Caubet, curator of Ancient Near Eastern antiquities at the Louvre, and Helen Merrillees, who was at the time cataloging the seals

Digitized by Google

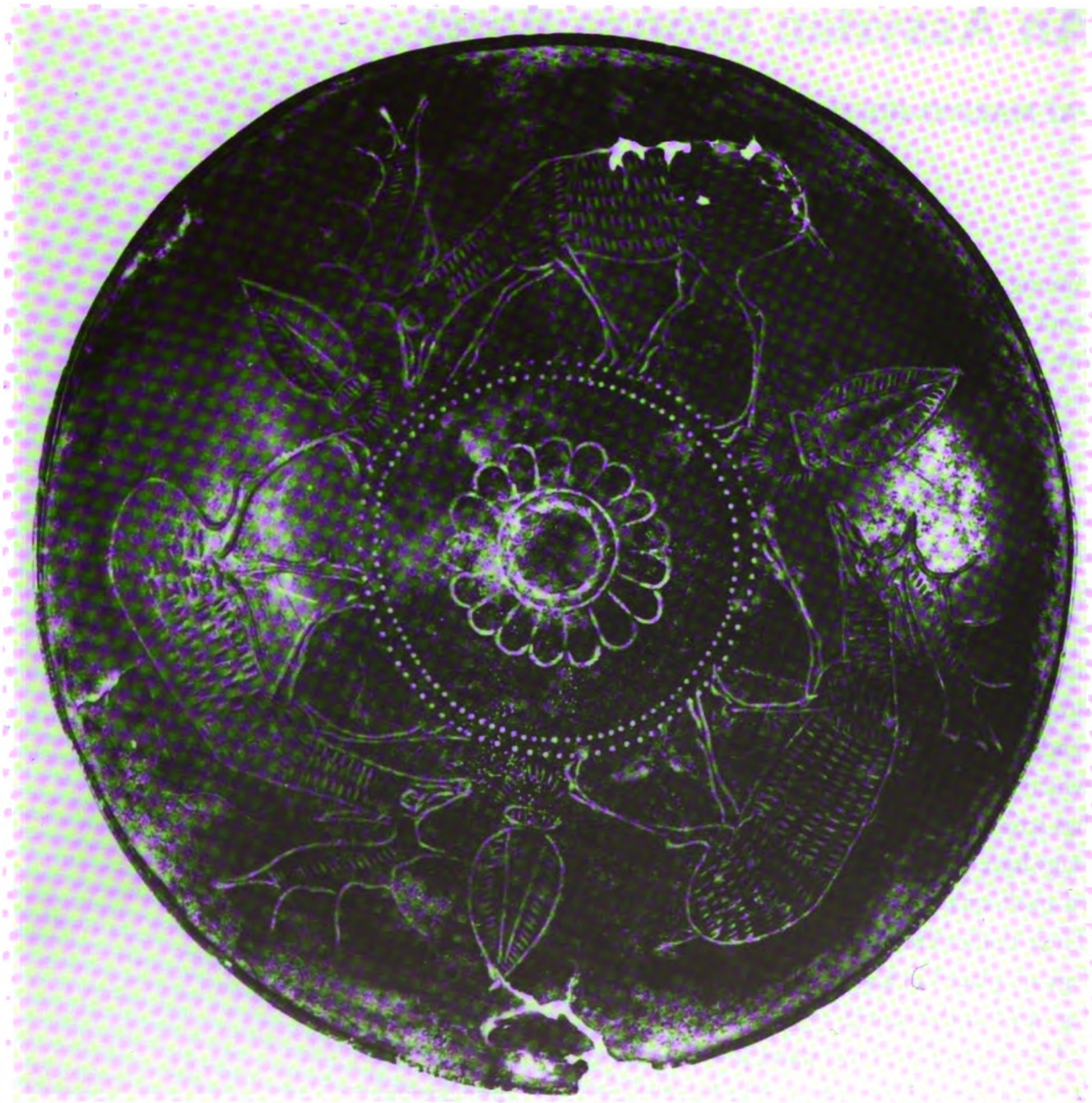


Fig. 1 a. Interior of bronze bowl, MMLur 428.

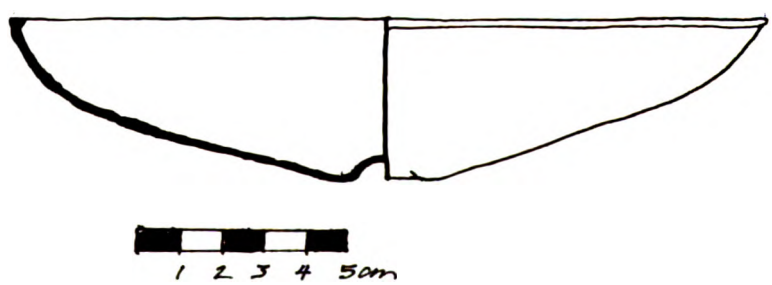


Fig. 1 b. Profile of bronze bowl.

Digitized by Google

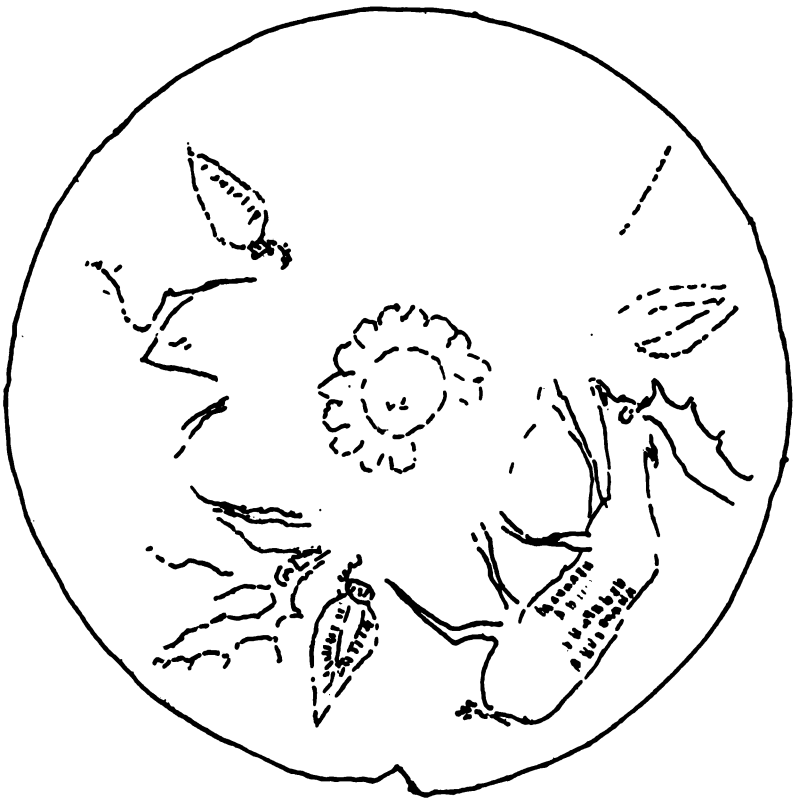


Fig. 1 c. Sketch of bronze bowl decor.

in the Medelhavsmuseet, viewed the bowl in 1995 they called it a superb example of the Assyrian style and compared it to figures on bronzes attributed to Ziwiye. The closest among those Ziwiye styled figures is found on a bronze coffin discussed by John Curtis in 1983 and 1986 and B. Goldman in 1989. In the 1986 article Curtis writes that bronze coffins with similar animal style, i.e. mountain goats standing on rosettes, are of Assyrian manufacture from the Late Assyrian period.[4] The shape of the antlers place the animal in venues as diverse as Scytho-Siberian Ziwiye-like and Hittite.[5]

The majority of the large collection of ancient Persian metalwork at the Medelhavsmuseet was purchased by Professor Ture Arne in 1932 while excavating Shah Tepe in northeastern Iran. A few years later, in 1936, as curator at Historiska Museet, Stockholm, he bought a group of four decorated bronzes which included the above mentioned bowl, two socket axes, and a beaker.[6]

Digitized by Google

Fig. 2 a. Socket ax, MMLur 425.

One of the socket axes, MMLur 425, is 12.2 cm long with a 6.2 cm high cylindrical shaft (*Fig. 2 a–b*). It is cast in copper. The blade splays out from the narrow neck to slightly convex cutting edge and concave-shaped bottom edge. The decor on only one face of the blade consists of a bearded figure wearing a round cap, a knee length kilt, and holding a long stick, ending in a what may be intended to be a spear head. The head of the figure is in profile, both feet point the same way, one hand is on the hip. The other blade face is cracked near the neck.

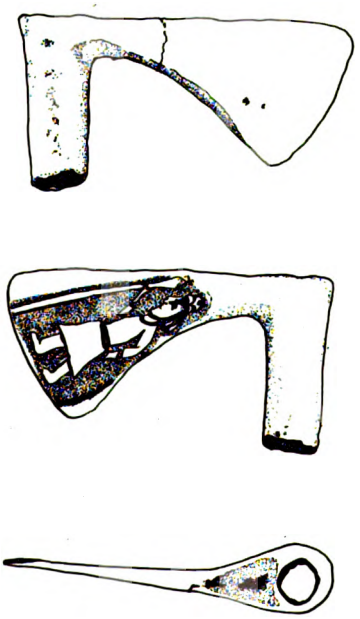


Fig. 2 b. Profile and sketch of socket ax decor.

The other socket ax, MMLur 426, 9.2 cm long with a 5.21 cm high shaft, is cast in bronze and very similar in shape to the ax above (*Fig. 3 a–b*). The decor is applied in the same way as on the first ax on the blade near the edge. The decor (on this ax on both faces of the blade) looks like a Walt Disney Bambi deer.[7] Both axes are intact.

Excavated axes of the same shape date as early as 2600–2500 BC.[8] On these axes it looks as if the decor has been stamped onto the blades as is done, for example, on ceramic jars from the Sasanian period at Nineveh.[9] When axes of this type are decorated the decor is usually in relief and close to or on the shaft as in the "excavated" spike butt ax published by A. Godard.[10] In the case of the ax, MMLur 426, the craftsman apparently used the same cut out pattern for the deer when etching both faces of the blade edge! A close technical examination of both axes indicate that the decor was added to the blades a long time ago, indeed most likely at the time of manufacture.[11] There is however no

Digitized by Google

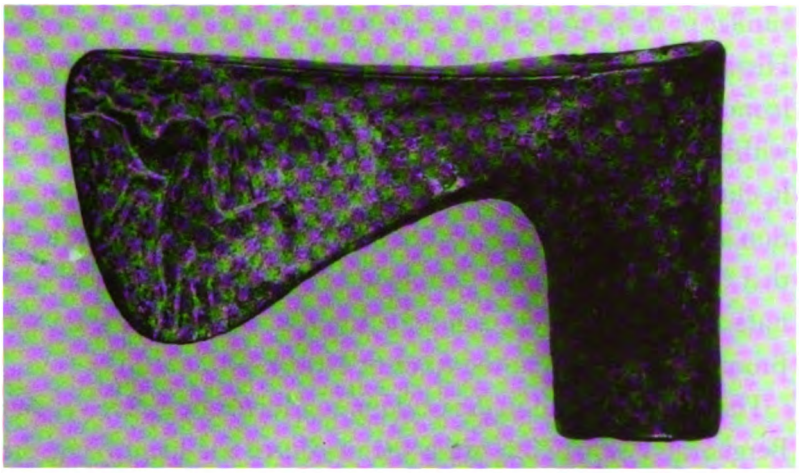


Fig. 3 a. Socket ax, MMLur 426.

parallel to the style, iconography, execution technique or placement of the decor on bronze axes of this type.

The beaker, MMLur 427, 7.7 cm high and 5.9 cm in diameter, is hammered out of bronze sheet metal (*Fig. 4 a–c*). It has a flat base, a ring foot, concave walls widening at base and mouth, and a plain rim. The decor hammered from the outside consists of a frieze with a tree standing in grass. The treetop is made of four circles, and a cock's head hanging from one side. A bearded man standing in profile wears a short skirt and rounded hat, faces away from the tree and lifts both arms from the waist. In front of him is a platform supported on three curved legs. On the platform a kneeling bearded figure wearing a pyramidal shaped hat and with arms bent up from waist faces a smaller kneeling bearded figure in a feathered headdress and holding what could be an animal head rising from a diamond shaped base?[12] Behind this figure there is a pole ending in mouflon and ibex heads back to back. On the end of a platform a reclining animal with a long curved tail faces away from the pole. A kneeling archer wearing trousers and a rounded hat follow. He holds a bow and arrow: the point is visible. The bow is extended outwards and turned backwards aimed at two deerlike animals standing on grass blades. The artist obviously had never seen an archer shoot an arrow!

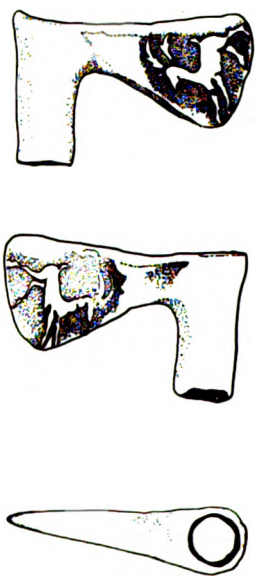


Fig. 3 b. Profile and sketch of socket ax decor.

The "deer" do resemble the ones on the ax, MMLur 426, and the dress of the figures that of the ax, MMLur 425. Otherwise the various clothing and hats give us no hint of origin. Though

Digitized by Google

Fig. 4 a. Beaker, MMLur 427.

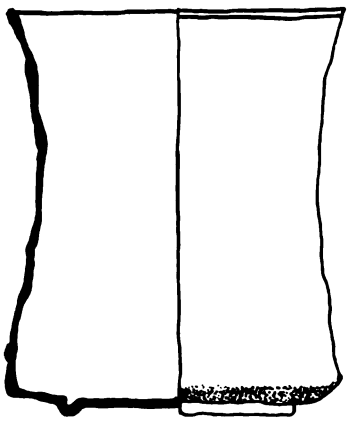


Fig. 4 b. Profile of beaker.

Fig. 4 c. Sketch of beaker decor.

similar in shape to beakers excavated in Surkh Dum, Giyan and Hissar dating 2400–2200 BC the beaker has no parallels to the iconography or style of the decor aside from the resemblance within the group itself.[13] The execution of the decor is also equally clumsy on the three. On the other hand technical examination indicated in the case of the beaker, just as in that of the axes, that the decor must have been hammered out at the time of manufacture. The raising technique itself is well known from the Bronze Age onward in the Ancient Near East.

The bronzes found in excavations conducted by Louis Vanden Berghe in Pusht-i Kuh are a major source for identifying the more than 400 bronzes attributed to Luristan which Arne purchased in the 1930's. This is also the case with the incised bowl. The two axes and the beaker accompanying the bowl are problematic. With forms which indicate a provenance somewhere in Mesopotamia or Iran of the Early Bronze Age and a patina that is an integral part of the objects themselves they could well be ancient objects. However, the decor may be in a later or provincial style. So where, when and how were these bronzes created?

If only they had been found in controlled excavations!

Pat Marino-Hultman
Medelhavsmuseet

Digitized by Google

Bibliography

Curtis 1983	John E. Curtis, 'Late Assyrian bronze coffins', *AnatSt* 33,1983, 85–95.
Curtis 1986	John E. Curtis, 'Late Assyrian jewellery from Ur', *Sumer* 42, 1986, 149–154.
Emre & Çinaroglu 1993	Kutlu Emre & Aykut Çinaroglu, 'A group of metal Hittite vessels from Kinik-Kastamonu,' in *Aspects of art and iconography: Anatolia and its neighbors: studies in honor of Nimet Özgüç: Nimet Özgüç'e armagan*, eds. J. Mellink Machteld, Edith Porada & Tahsin Özguç, Ankara, 1993, 675–713.
Ess & Pedde1992	Margarete van Ess & Friedhelm Pedde, *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte. Kleinfunde* 2 . Mainz am Rhein 1992.
Godard 1933	A. Godard, 'Nouveaux Bronzes du Luristan des Fouilles de Zalu-AB', *GBA* 75:2, 1933, 124–138.
Goldman 1989	B. Goldman, 'Ziwiyeh Miscellany', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 3, 1989, 1–13.
Haerinck & Overlaet 1998	E. Haerinck & B. Overlaet, *Chamahzi Mumah: an Iron Age III graveyard*, [Luristan excavation documents, vol. 2], Brussels 1998.
Marino-Hultman 1996	Pat Marino-Hultman, *Bronser från Luristan/Ancient Persian Metalwork*, Medelhavsmuseet. Skrifter 20, Stockholm 1996.
Markoe 1984	Glenn Markoe, *Phoenician bronze and silver bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*, [University of California publications. Classical studies, 26], Berkeley 1984.
Schmidt 1937	E.F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar, Damghan*, Philadelphia 1937.
Schmidt†, Loon & Curvers 1989	E.F. Schmidt†, M.N. van Loon, and H.M. Curvers *The Holmes Expeditions to Luristan* [University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, 108], Chicago 1989.
Sher 1992	Ja.A. Sher, 'A propos des origines du style animalier', *Arts Asiatiques* 47, 1992, 5–18.
Simpson 1996	St John Simpson, 'From Tekrit to the Jaghjagh: Sasanian sites, settlement patterns and material culture in Northern Mesopotamia', In *Continuity and change in northern Mesopotamia from the Hellenistic to the early Islamic period*, eds. Karin Bartl, & Stefan R. Hauser, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient. Band 17. Berlin 1996, 87–126.
Vanden Berghe 1968	Louis Vanden Berghe, 'Une nécropole de Bani Surmah, aurore d'une civilisation du bronze', *ArcheologiaPar* 24, 1968, 52–64.
Vanden Berghe & Haerinck 1984	Louis Vanden Berghe & E. Haerinck, 'Prospections et fouilles au Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan', *AfO* 31, 1984, 200–204.

Digitized by Google

[1] Emre & Çinaroglu 1993, 680, 683, 712 fig 18 and pl. 132: 5a, and 5b. These finds surfaced at the building of a dam and are thought to be from the Assyrian Trade Colony Period.

[2] Vanden Berghe & Haerinck 1984, 200–204, fig 17. In fact two bowls with an omphalos were excavated, see Haerinck & Overlaet 1998, 25–29, fig. 11:4,5 and fig. 12.

[3] Markoe 1984, 105–110, pls. 336, 337.

[4] Curtis 1983, 85-95, and idem 1986, 152; Goldman 1989, 1–13.

[5] For the Scytho-Siberian Ziwiye venue, see Sher 1992, 5–18, 14 fig 10, 15 fig. 11; for the Hittite, see Emre & Çinaroglu 1993, 705, fig. 29, and 713, figs 24 d, e, f.

[6] According to the accession catalogue the group was bought from a Doctor Unvala of Bombay and was said to come from Luristan. In letters written to Arne from Paris in 1928 and 1935 Dr. Unvala mentions having worked at Susa with the French Archaeological Mission 1926-1927 and discusses his main interest, Sasanian seals. It is confusing that the axes and beaker have accession number, SHM 21446:1–3 while the bowl has SHM 21455:1. There is, furthermore, a brief note of Arne stating that all accession numbered SHM 21455 and SHM 21456 were bought on the 'European Art Market'.

[7] A chemical metal analysis done in the 1970 by Mille Törnblom at The Technical Institution of The Council of National Antiquities (today the Central Board of National Antiquities) showed MMLur 425 to contain 99. 5% copper and MMLur 426 to contain 91.67% copper and 7.63% tin.

[8] See for example Vanden Berghe 1968, 58 top, 3 top and center bottom, from Bani Surmah, and Schmidt†, Loon & Curvers 1989, pl. 125c, KII 158 from a Kamtarlan 2 Middle Bronze Age burial, described as heirlooms offered to the gods worshipped in these temples.

[9] These are published by Simpson 1996, 124, fig. 1.

[10] Godard 1933, 131, figs 9–10.

[11] The technical examination was made in October 1998 in the conservation department of the Central Board of National Antiquities in Stockholm by Hubert Hydman.

[12] Since the beaker is damaged here it is hard to see what is intended. The shape of the figure however invokes that of the anthropomorphic finials from Luristan as in the one excavated by Vanden Berghe and Haerinck (Vanden Berghe & Haerinck 1984, fig. 9.)

[13] Several examples are found in Schmidt†, Loon & Curvers 1989, pl. 124c, d, e: KII 226, which are dated Giyan III and 21, pl. 126c: KII 226 dated Middle Bronze Age. Others found by Schmidt, see Schmidt 1937, pl. 58.

Digitized by Google

La statue d'un haut fonctionnaire saïte

(Stockholm, MME 1986:1 + Vatican 22686)

HERMAN DE MEULENAERE

En 1986, le Medelhavsmuseet a fait l'acquisition d'un buste masculin appartenant à une statue privée égyptienne (inv. MME 1986:1). Après avoir brièvement retracé son histoire, Mme I. Lindblad lui a consacré un intéressant exposé dans lequel elle analyse soigneusement ses particularités artistiques qui la conduisent à la conclusion que l'œuvre se situe quelque part dans le règne d'Apriès ou éventuellement d'Amasis. Pour arriver à ce résultat, l'inscription en deux colonnes qui décore le pilier dorsal ne lui a été d'aucune utilité; elle est forcément incomplète et ne livre point le nom du personnage représenté.[1]

En 1954, lorsque le buste se trouvait encore dans la collection Ernest Brummer à New York, mon ami Bernard V. Bothmer m'en avait envoyé une petite photographie. En examinant l'inscription qui consiste en deux colonnes enfermées dans un cadre assez étroit qui ne couvre pas toute la largeur du pilier dorsal, je me suis immédiatement souvenu de la statue naophore Vatican, Inv. 22686, dont tout le haut est restauré.[2] Seule, la partie inférieure est ancienne et, comme je m'y attendais, elle se raccorde indiscutablement au buste de Stockholm, bien qu'il soit clair qu'un espace de quelques signes sépare les deux fragments (*Fig. 1–4*).

Par le raccord des deux morceaux, l'identité du propriétaire de la statue est définitivement établie. Les inscriptions de la partie inférieure apprennent qu'elle appartient à "Nekhthorheb, dont le beau nom est Hor-menekh-ib-nekht", un haut fonctionnaire saïte, contemporain du règne de Psammétique II (595–589 av. J.-C.) dont il se proclame le fidèle serviteur. C'est un personnage fort bien connu qui fait partie d'une illustre famille de la

Digitized by Google

Fig. 1–2. Reconstitution théorique de MME 1986:1 + Vatican, Inv. 22686. Cliché du Musée Vatican, Rome.

Digitized by Google

fin du 7e et du commencement du 6e siècle av. J.-C.[3] Lui-même est le propriétaire de plusieurs statues et d'un sarcophage en pierre dont seule la cuve est conservée. Ramadan el-Sayed a utilement reconstitué son dossier en attribuant à chaque document un sigle que je lui emprunterai pour renvoyer, dans la suite de mon exposé, à ces diverses sources.[4]

Je cite pour rappel:

A: Sarcophage Vatican, Inv. 22654
B: Statue fragmentaire Copenhague, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothèque, AEIN 947
C: Statue fragmentaire Vatican, Inv. 22686
D: Statue Paris, Louvre A 94
E: Statue Londres, British Museum 1646
F: Statue d'Isis, Le Caire CG 39275
G: Statue d'une collection privée

Les inscriptions

Les inscriptions de la statue se répartissent sur trois endroits. Sur la face supérieure du socle, devant le naos qui contient une image du dieu Osiris et qui est dépourvu de décoration, est gravée une brève légende. Le socle, qui est arrondi à l'avant, est entouré d'une ligne d'hiéroglyphes, encadrée par un filet; elle est constituée de deux moitiés qui partent du milieu du côté antérieur dans des directions opposées pour se rejoindre au milieu du côté postérieur. Enfin, le pilier dorsal est orné d'un cadre rectangulaire à l'intérieur duquel deux colonnes de texte, non séparées par un filet, descendent jusqu'aux talons du personnage avant de se transformer en lignes horizontales; grâce à la réunion des deux fragments, cette inscription est, à quelques signes près, complètement conservée.

A. Sur la face supérieure du socle

(----->) "Le prêtre-ritualiste en chef (*a*), le gardien du diadème de la parure royale (*b*), le compagnon de Sa Majesté, Hor-menekh-ib-nekht".

(a) Pour le titre *ḫry-ḥb ḥry tp* , voir les remarques de J. Quaegebeur.[5]

Digitized by Google

(b) L'usage du titre aulique *ỉry nfr ḥ3t* remonte à l'Ancien Empire.[6] Il est, à cette époque, souvent complété par *m sḫkr nsw* "en parant le roi", élément que la statue de Nekhthorheb transforme ici en *m ḫkr nsw* en conférant un sens transitif au verbe *ḫkr* (*Wb.* III, 401).

Fig. 3. Reconstitution théorique de MME 1986:1 + Vatican, Inv. 22686.

Digitized by Google

B. Autour du socle

(----->) "Le premier après le roi de Haute Égypte (*c*), le grand dignitaire du roi de Basse Égypte, homme de perspicacité (*d*) dans le bureau des écritures, le supérieur des secrets dans les lieux privilégiés (*e*), l'aimé du dieu bon,

Fig. 4. Reconstitution théorique de MME 1986:1 + Vatican, Inv. 22686.

Digitized by Google

son loué et son favori, le supérieur des secrets des deux uraeus (*f*), le compagnon de Sa Majesté, Hor-menekh-ib-nekht".

(<----) "Durable d'amour auprès du roi de Haute Égypte, aux mains pures et gracieuses (*g*), efficace dans la demeure de Sechat (*h*), que le roi de Haute et de Basse Égypte Néferibré, vivant à jamais, loue parce qu'il agit conformément à ce qui est dans son cœur, le gardien du diadème de la parure royale, le compagnon de Sa Majesté, Hor-menekh-ib-nekht".

(c) Pour l'expression *wꜥ ḥr ḫw* (*Wb.* III, 216), voir les remarques de M. Malaise.[7]

d) Le cliché *wbꜣ-ḥr* (*Wb.* I, 291) est copieusement attesté à la Basse Époque autant dans les temples gréco-romains[8] que sur des monuments privés.[9]

(e) Pour *swt ḫntywt*, cf. *Wb.* III, 304.

(f) La lecture *wꜣḏty* des deux uraeus dressés est assurée par l'orthographe du titre *ḥm-nṯr wꜣḏty* sur le document B.

(g) Nous traduisons ainsi le double cliché *wꜥb ꜥwy ꜥn ḏrty* dans lequel l'orthographe pour mérite d'être notée. Elle est également attestée dans la même formule sur la statue Le Caire JE 97198, trouvée à Mendès en 1977 et attribuable au 4e siècle av. J.-C. (inédite; photographies CLES). Il est évident qu'elle tire son origine du mot *ꜥntyw* "résine aromatique"[10] dont certaines orthographes commencent par le signe (*Wb.* I, 206). Il est toutefois remarquable que le *Wb.* ne signale aucune orthographe abrégée de *ꜥntyw* et que toutes celles qui se réduisent au signe suivi d'un déterminatif sont attribuées au mot *snṯr* "résine de térébinthe" (*Wb.* III, 181). On peut se poser des questions à ce sujet. Quant au double cliché *wꜥb ꜥwy ꜥn ḏrty*, il est principalement attribué à des dames de rang, telles que reines ou Divines Adoratrices; *wꜥb* et *ꜥn* s'y intervertissent assez fréquemment.[11] Il est beaucoup plus rare que ce cliché soit mis en rapport avec des hommes.

(h) Le signe se lit *iḳr*.[12]

Digitized by Google

C. Sur le pilier dorsal

(--->) [1] "Le noble et prince, le trésorier du roi de Basse Égypte,
v grand de louanges dans la demeure royale (*i*), ... par son bon caractère, efficace pour sa ville, *imakhou* du seigneur de Saïs, [2] qui entre dans la demeure royale en privilégié, versé dans les paroles divines (*j*), homme de perspicacité(?).....(*k*), qui conduit les prophètes à leurs tâches (*l*), qui donne des directives aux nobles (*m*),

(---->) le directeur des domaines, le gouverneur du palais, le prêtre-ritualiste en chef, le compagnon de Sa Majesté, Nekhthorheb, dont le beau nom est Hor-menekh-ib-nekht".

(i) À comparer avec les formules *ꜥ3 ḥsw m pr nsw* (F) et *ꜥ3 ḥsw n rꜥ nb* (B)

(j) *ʾIpip-ib* n'est autre qu'une variante exceptionnelle du cliché *ip-ib*, amplement discuté par A. Egberts.[13] Pour le redoublement du radical *ip*, comparez *Wb.* I, 69.

(k) *Wbꜣ(-ḫr..)* Cf. ci-dessus, note (*d*).

(l) *Sšm ḥmw-nṯr r ir(t).sn.* La même expression se rencontre sur le document E et sur une statue saïte, vendue à Londres, chez Sotheby's, le 10–11 juillet 1989, n° 113.

(m) *Didi tp (-rd) n sꜥḥw*. Selon les formules parallèles fournies par les documents B, D *(di tp-rd n smrw)* et G *(di tp-rd n imyw-ḫnt)*, il est certain que l'élément *rd* a été omis après *tp*. Pour les divers contextes dans lesquels les sources égyptiennes utilisent le terme *tp-rd*, voir S. Schott.[14]

Commentaire général

Par le nombre de ses statues, il est évident que Nekhthorheb fut un des personnages les plus distingués de son époque. Très proche de son souverain, Psammétique II, qu'il cite nommément à deux reprises (C, F), il ne cesse de souligner l'importance qu'il attache à ces rapports privilégiés. Il se place lui-même très haut dans les faveurs du roi, estimant avoir librement accès au palais comme son "compagnon" (B, C, D, E, F, G), "le premier après (lui)" (C), son "grand dignitaire" (C), et "son aimé, son loué et son favori" (C). Il reçoit les louanges du roi "parce qu'il agit conformément

Digitized by Google

à ce qui est dans son cœur" (C). En particulier, il se félicite d'être responsable des ornements royaux (A, B, C, D, E, G).

Ces distinctions ne révèlent que d'une façon très imprécise en quoi consistaient les véritables occupations de Nekhthorheb à la cour royale de Saïs. Comme "gouverneur du palais" (B, C, D, E, G), il avait sans doute sous ses ordres l'ensemble des courtisans et des fonctionnaires qui entouraient le roi et auxquels il transmettait ses directives (B, C, D, G). Son autorité ne semble cependant pas avoir été limitée à la stricte administration civile. S'attribuant le titre de "directeur des domaines" *(ḫrp ḥwwt)* de la déesse Neith (A, B, C, D, E, G), qui le hisse au sommet de la hiérarchie sacerdotale, il définit la tâche des prophètes (C, E). Enfin, il faut croire que sa fonction de "prêtre-ritualiste en chef" (A, B, C, D, E, F, G) lui conférait un pouvoir considérable sur la rédaction et la conservation des écritures sacrées. "Homme de perspicacité" (B, C) et "versé dans les paroles divines" (C), il se réclame à deux reprises de leur patronne, la déesse Sechat (B, C).

Herman De Meulenaere
Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth
10, Parc du Cinquantenaire
BE-1000 Bruxelles

[1] I. Lindblad, Five Late Egyptian Sculptures in Stockholm, *MedMusB* 29, 1994, 22–25.

[2] G. Botti-P. Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, Città del Vaticano 1951, pl. 25.

[3] H. De Meulenaere, Une famille de hauts dignitaires saïtes, *Artibus Aegypti*, Bruxelles 1983, 35–43. Je profite de cette occasion pour remercier le Dr. Sergio Pernigotti qui a attiré mon attention sur une grave erreur commise dans mon exposé; j'y ai, en effet, raccordé à tort les fragments Copenhague, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothèque, AEIN 1648 et Bologne 1838 (fig. 3–6) qui appartiennent en réalité à des statues différentes.

[4] Ramadan el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, Le Caire 1975, 225–27.

[5] J. Quaegebeur, La designation *(P3ỉ-) Ḥry-Tp*: Phritob, dans *Form und Mass, Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht*, Wiesbaden 1987, 387.

[6] H.G. Fischer, A Stela of the Heracleopolitan Period at Saqqara: The Osiris *'Iti*, *ZÄS* 90, 1963, 39.

[7] M. Malaise, Du mot *ḫw* exprimant le caractère "exceptionnel" des divinités ou des êtres, *CdE* 64, 1989, 116–18.

[8] E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Heidelberg 1964, 116–17.

Digitized by Google

[9] Par exemple S. Roccati, Relazione preliminare sulla II campagna di scavo nella tomba di Šešonq all'Asasif (1971). I. Le iscrizione della scala, *Or.Ant.* 12, 1973, 34; Ph. Derchain, Harkhêbis, le Psylle-Astrologue, *CdE* 64, 1989, 76 etc.
[10] S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, I, Le Caire 1991, 214.
[11] Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel*, Le Caire 1968, 157–58.
[12] Quaegebeur (supra n. 5), 384, n. 97.
[13] A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the ancient Egyptian Rites of consecrating the Meretchests and driving the Calves*, Leiden 1995, 306.
[14] S. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im Alten Aegypten*, Wiesbaden 1990, 386–93.

Digitized by Google

Nswj, a Priest in Thebes. Preliminary Report

MARGREET VAN HOEIJ

Introduction

The principal feature in the art collection of the Six family in Amsterdam is the 17th century Dutch school of painting. There are, however, some exceptions to be found that do not belong to the Embarrassment of Riches[1] of the Golden Age, objects of another culture and another time. Among these are a few of ancient Egyptian origin. They are not catalogued and neither is their provenance documented.

The most important piece, a block-statue, is the start of this publication. In 1914 Prof. Dr. Jhr Jan Six (1857–1926), great-grandfather of the family, asked Dr. P. A. A. Boeser of Leiden for some information about the statue. Dr. Boeser (1858–1935), lecturer at Leiden University and Director of the Egyptian Collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden at Leiden[2] replied, rather unenthusiastically but in a beautiful hand, in a letter dated 14th December 1914:

> *"that the statue is Saïtic and that the inscriptions are very untidy; that the person, according to the text, was a scribe and priest of the second phyle of the god Montu, Lord of Heliopolis* (sic!); *that his name was Netsu and that of his mother, Taker-heb"* (quotation abbreviated by the author).[3]

This information had obviously been needed previously. We know this from a label at the back of the socle of the statue, when the block was on display at an exhibition organised by a charity in Amsterdam in 1915. This is all the information we have.

About the possessor of the statue, however, we know a good deal more. Jan Six was professor at both the Academy of Fine Arts and the University of Amsterdam, the successor in spirit to

Digitized by Google

Allard Pierson (1831–1896) whose name is linked to another art collection in Amsterdam. Like Pierson, Six's versatility and open mind are evident even today.[4] He visited Egypt in 1910. In his bibliography several publications on Egypt are listed.[5] For example, one on the Tomb of Mentuhotep II in Deir el Bahri deals with the reconstruction theory of Naville and gives a not inexpert alternative. In another, Six writes about the 150 m long entrance-way into the tomb of the same king, comparing the structure of the ceiling to that of the burial room in the pyramids and to the gothic pointed arch. A third, one of his earliest publications in the field of Egyptology, is his article about a granite head found in the harbour of Aegina and attributed then to Ptolemaios VI Philometor, King of Egypt. It is therefore probable that Jan Six was the buyer of the Egyptian objects in the art collection, and even more probable as there was a profusion of objects on the market in his time. This steady stream came from the "Cachette" or "Favissa",[6] a pit found by the Frenchman, Georges Legrain, on 26th December, 1903 in Karnak, the temple area of the God Amun in Thebes. In that pit priests had buried those statues that probably overcrowded the temple area at a certain time during the last centuries B.C. All in all, 700 statues and 16,000 religious objects, such as stelae and fragments of temple reliefs, came to light. Nearly all of them were from the times of the New Kingdom until well into the Hellenistic era (1550–150 B.C.).[7] Thieves, art dealers and the Museum in Cairo sold a number of items from the "Cachette" and thus, Jan Six could well have been one of the buyers. For the evidence discussed in this working paper 84 years later I am indebted to the letter, however short, from Dr. Boeser to Dr. Six.

What constitutes a block-statue

The block-statue is a statue of a man, wearing a robe and sqatting on the floor with his legs pulled up and his arms crossed over his knees. Even when the body and the limbs are not sculpted the position can be deduced from the dimensions. This is the essence of the block-statue. All other characteristics, such as texts or additions, are of lesser importance.[8] This kind of sculpture

Digitized by Google

was never used for royalty and seldom for women. Very popular from the Middle Kingdom until well into Roman times, it was also never usurped. The term "block-statue" is not Egyptian as the Egyptians had no terminology for different forms of art; the many words for sculpture were linked to their function and meaning more than to their shape.[9] The participle of the verb "to praise" , however, is, in the Late Period often written with the determinative of the block-statue.[10] Hence, the main function of the block-statue may be described as "to praise and be praised": as a private temple statue, the block-statue represented its owner at the temple; thus the owner shared in the offerings and in the liturgy of the rebirth of the god; its second function was commemorative, for the owner to be remembered by the passers-by. Both functions of the block-statue were concerned with status, both represented a privilege reserved for distinguished members of the clergy.[11]

As already stated, no special word for the block statue exists in Egyptian, nor do the English determination "block-statue", the French "statue-bloc" and similar words in other languages adequately describe this kind of statue. Only the German word "Würfelhocker", introduced by H. Schäfer,[12] incorporates the two basic elements of the statue: its cubic form and its squatting figure. As a point of academic discussion it might have been better if the term was "Hockerwürfel" – the man involved first and the shape second – but as there are no useful alternatives in other languages this suggestion should be hidden in the drawer of Egyptologistic subtleties.

Why do private people commission a statue of themselves in the shape of a block with their head sticking out? According to Eggebrecht it is possible that the original purpose of the genre was to represent the rebirth of the owner at the moment when he breaks free from the burial mound or box in the Netherworld.[13] Not all scholars accept this resurrection-theory.[14] It has been agreed that although the resurrection-theory might have been the origin of the block-statue other factors might have contributed to its popularity: the posture indicates humility on account of the divine presence nearby; simultaneously, the abstract shape might simply represent Order, the Controller of

Digitized by Google

Chaos.[15] Indeed, the original resurrection idea is not strong in the block of the Six collection; Nswj does not pray to Osiris but to Thoth-the-Ibis.

Fig. 1. The block-statue in the art collection of the Six family in Amsterdam.

Digitized by Google

The description of the block-statue of the Six collection

The Six block-statue has no catalogue number (*Fig. 1–3*). The name of the person it represents is Nsw3j" here , also written Nswj, Ns3-wjw or Nswtt.[16] To simplify matters the owner of the statue will be called Nswj from now on. The material is granodiorite. The dimensions of the statue are as follows: 0.40 m high, 0.15 m wide and 0.22 m deep. The place where the statue once stood is unknown. Nevertheless, according to the text, it must have been in Hermonthis or Thebes, both called the southern Heliopolis. On account of the place of burial in Northern Thebes, however, and on account of the parallels mentioned below, we choose Thebes. Bearing in mind that the block-statue is hardly damaged and bearing in mind the year 1914 in which it was the subject of the short communication from Boeser to Six, it can not be ruled out that it was a part of the treasure of the "Cachette" in Thebes, emptied in 1903– 1905.

The statue can be dated to Ptolemaic times because of its non block-like elegant dimensions and slenderness, its crude inscriptions that are only executed in silhouette and its other rather crude aspects, all of which mark it as a mass-produced object such as was manufactured in the Late Period.[17] The statue is in good condition. Small flakes have been chipped off the block and the head but the face is undamaged. The chips could be of recent date as they are still very white. They seem to have been inflicted by a sharp, narrow object like a small pick or shovel: they are round at the head, oblong and more or less horizontal at the back of the block, especially on the right side. The largest chips are cut off in the region of the hands, knees and ankles. The socle is scarcely damaged, nor are the feet. Parts of the body emerge from the block: shoulders, elbows, arms and hands, as well as ankles and feet. The shape of the body is clearly accentuated under the cloak that falls well above the ankles. The line of the legs is also visible.

The statue has a small, square socle with a thin, round cushion – an extension of the back pillar – to sit on. This back pillar ends at its top just below the wig and only a shallow, straight line separates the two. The block has an offering scene in front with

Digitized by Google

Fig. 2–3. The block-statue in the art collection of the Six family in Amsterdam.

one line of hieroglyphic inscriptions over it and four lines below, separated by horizontal lines. The back pillar has one column of hieroglyphic text. The offering scene and the inscriptions are in low relief. The carriage of the upper part of the body is conventional: the statue has its arms crossed, the right over the left; the right hand is clenched into a fist and holds a lettuce leaf;[18] the left hand is stretched, palm down. The upper arms and shoulders are sticking out and are larger than any other part of the statue and socle. The lower part tapers towards the feet. These stand well apart: they are big and broad; the toes are all worked separately and the big toe stands apart. The bone of the ankle is visible on the inside of the legs.

The head is resting on a very short neck with a distinct line between cheeks and neck. There is no beard. The ears are large and flat. A wig frames the face in a straight, sharp line over the forehead falling back behind the ears and ending in a straight line again below the neck. The physiognomy is traditional: the oval face is well-proportioned but bony and only slightly polished.

Digitized by Google

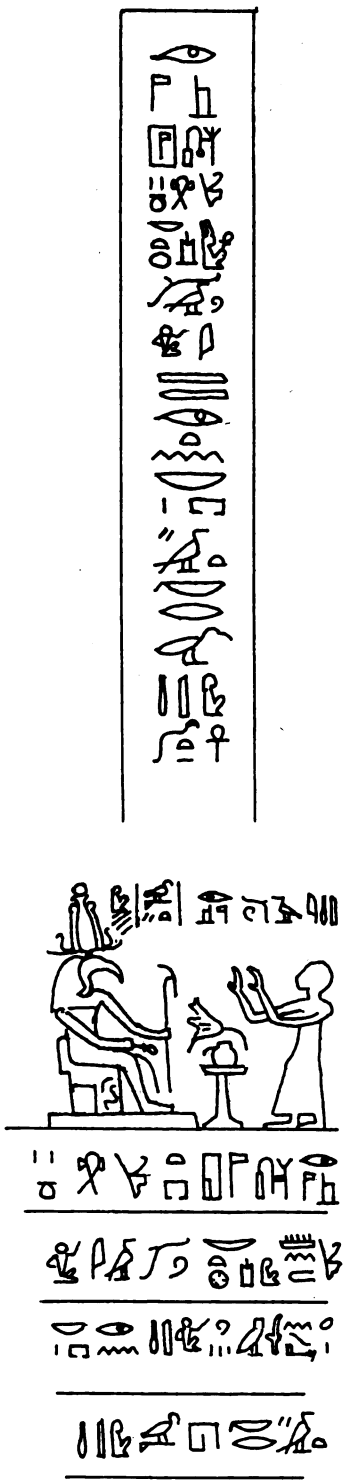


Fig. 3 a. The text on the backpillar and the front of the block statue.

Straight, wide eyebrows follow the line of the wig. The protruding eyes have thin eyelids and clear lachrymal bags. There are no lines of eye make-up. The eyes are very asymmetrical to the point that, although they are gazing in the same direction, slightly down, they are positively squinting. The nose, not exactly narrow from the front view, is long in profile. The upper lip is short and curved, the lower lip full and protruding. The facial expression suggests a pleasant mood as the lines of the cheeks between nose and mouth hint at a smile. This again links the statue to Thebes and the Late Period (700 B.C.–100 A.D.).[19] Strangely, there are traces of paint on the face, on the eye balls, the nostrils, the corners of the mouth, and on the offering scene. This phenomenon will be dealt with later.

Inscriptions

According to the text on the back-pillar (*Fig. 3 a*), Nswj was a scribe in the temple, a priest of the second phyle of the god Montu of Thebes. His mother, mistress of the house, was Takerheb. The same text is repeated on the front but here the name of the father, Ṯaimu, can also be read. There is an offering scene with Thoth and Nswj above the four lines of text and these two names are written just beneath the knees of the block. The hieroglyphics are of poor quality due partly to the rough, slightly-polished structure of the surface of the stone. The offering scene shows Thoth to the left of the spectator seated on a low-backed throne. He is anthropomorphic with the head of the ibis and wears the composite crown. His wig reaches down his back. In his left hand he holds the w3s-sceptre and in his right the ankh-sign. On the small offering table in front there is a vase and a cooling lotus flower. From the right strides Nswj towards his god. His hands are raised in the prayer gesture, palms facing outwards. He wears a sleeveless, long garment ending in a skirt-like point. Although conventional at first sight, the text is of great interest and will enable us to discover other works commissioned by or for Nswj in order to secure himself a place in eternity.

The nearest parallel is a block-statue from the Gallatin Collection, published in 1967 by E. Young.[20] This block, too, is prob-

Digitized by Google

bably from the "Cachette" and represents a man called Iw-it=f. He is sitting on a low, rectangular base. Young dates the statue to the 3rd Intermediate Period, between 945 and 664 B.C. It is of indurated limestone, 0.345 m high, and is a gift of the Fletcher Fund and the Guide Foundation inc., cat. no. 66 99 63. This statue could have been the model for the Six block in both shape and scenery.

In the scene on the front we see the god Thoth, again ibis-headed and wearing the atef-crown. He is seated, with the was-sceptre in his left hand and the ankh-sign in his right. In front of the god we see the same offering-stand, with the same lotus flower. Facing the god stands Iw-it=f in the priest dress and with the shaven head we already know so well. In detail, however, the two frontal scenes differ. Above the god's head the Gallatin-block displays the formula "To be recited by Thoth, the Great One, Lord of Hermopolis". Beneath the table there is a wreath of flowers and a jar, and on the stand a row of cakes replace the jug of Nswj. Iw-it=f, who stands in the same posture as Nswj, nonetheless has priestly utensils at hand. In his left hand he holds an incense burner – a rod with a falcon head at one end and a fist holding an incense bowl at the other. With his right hand Iw-it=f pours a libation over the offerings. The simpler and cruder version on Nswj's front, the praying gesture only, does not conceal the similarities between the two priests. Above Iw-it=f's head his name is inscribed. Under the scene a text of seven lines, divided in the same manner as on Nswj's block, tells us that here an offering is made to Thoth by the king, that Thoth is the Great One, Lord of Hermopolis, the Judge of the Two Combatants, Foremost in Heseret, the Great God in the midst of Thebes, and that this offering is made for Iw-it=f, son of Djehuti-ir-di=s and Ta-riyu. This text is far more elaborate than the hieroglyphs found on Nswj's block. We see that the king is the intercessor between god and man, a formula that has been omitted or damaged in Nswj's inscription.

Iw-it=f's backpillar again states the name of the owner and his parents, and of Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, life-giver and protector. We also see, however, that Iw-it=f has a second name, Tklt (Takelot), a name in use after the 22nd dynasty. The names

Digitized by Google

of Iw-it=f's parents are common ones. The father's name links him to Thoth, as does the repeated mention of Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis. One asks if Iw-it=f, a unicum meaning "he is his father", is not the same kind of nick-name as Nswj, and that Tklt is in fact his official name.

Equally interesting are the other titles of Thoth on the block. "The Judge of the Two Combatants" refers to the struggle between Horus and Seth. When the opponents appeared before the divine tribunal, Thoth was there as a mere scribe, recording good and evil and, therefore, although not partaking in the deliberations and decisions, an awesome power and instrument of reconciliation. The epithet "Foremost in Heseret" refers to the necropolis of Hermopolis on the Western shore, the burial place of Thoth's baboons and ibises. The most interesting epithet, however, is that referring to "the Great God in the midst of Thebes". Thoth, god of wisdom, of writing and magic, and also of the moon, fuses with Khonsou, the third member of the Theban triad, "who sails on the moonsickle along the sky like in a boat". (CT V 67 r). The presence of Thoth in Thebes could thus be explained through this connection.

A further example of the identification of Thoth with Khonsou is the text found on a statue of the Late Period in the City Art Museum of St. Louis.[21] This statue, again almost certainly from Karnak, is of Ankh-pa-Khered.[22] He is standing, holding before him a figure of the god Osiris, who stands on a base. The light and elegant inscription tells us that Ankh-pa-Khered followed his father, Wsr-wr (Osoroêris) in office as Prophet of Amun in Karnak and that he held many other priestly functions connected with the goddess Mut, her son the god Khonsou, and Thoth at Thebes, as had Wsr-wr, his father, before. Here again we see Thoth and Khonsou together. It might, therefore, be considered that Nswj's affinity to Thoth refers indirectly to Khonsou. Another of Nswj's contemporaries, Amunhotep, whose coffin is in Warsaw, was "doorkeeper of the House of Gold of Amun's temple" and also priest of Thoth.[23]

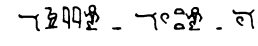
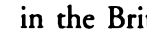
The Ptolemies encouraged the worship of Montu, the old Theban war god, and, according to the text on his block, Nswj was a full-time priest in Montu's temple. It might be possible,

Digitized by Google

however, that he participated in the rituals of Thoth as well, those for example in a temple or chapel or during festivals. An additional, also Ptolemaic, block-statue from the "Cachette" in Karnak refers directly to Thoth. It is that of Ns-Djhwtj, as the text on the base shows.[24] On the front there is a relief of a baboon with the moon-crescent on its head. This again proves the presence and importance of Thoth in Thebes. Similarly, a statue of Imuthes (Imhotep), found in the Harer Collection, carries the same title "prophet of Thoth" amongst others.[25]

Nswj could have been responsible for the care of a statue of Thoth, or for some task in Thoth's temple to the west of Montu's temenos, although the temple was not an exclusive sanctuary for Thoth-the Ibis.[26] Another possibility could be that Nswj had a second function on the West Bank. At Qasr el-Aguz Ptolemaios VIII built a chapel for Thoth-the-Ibis. The date (140–120 B.C.) is late but a massive brick structure was found underneath the chapel,[27] indicating that perhaps it was on the site of a previous building. Thoth-the-Ibis in the new chapel had an oracular function, as had Montu in Medamud and Medinet Habu.[28]

Stele BM 8468

The name Nswj is clearly a hypokoristikon. What his real name was we do not know but variants of the same hypokoristikon,  with the name of the mo-ther Taker-heb,  , are found on a stele (0.54 m high and 0.46 m wide) in the British Museum, BM 8468 (*Fig. 4*). Since 1987 it has been dated to the same Ptolemaic Period and its provenance located as Thebes.[29] It was acquired in 1839 from Anastasi, to whom we shall refer later. Apart from one crack (in fact the joint between two pieces of sycamore wood) it is in excellent condition. The stele is round topped and has four horizontal divisions. The section at the top has the curved sky sign and below it is the winged sun disk with two winged uraei enclosing a scarab beetle. On each side a recumbent jackal holds a sceptre. In the second section, in which his name is twice inscribed, Nswj, kneeling, worships the solar barque.[30] A Ba-bird, that is, his non-physical appearance best translated as "personality", stands on

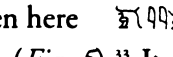
Digitized by Google

Fig. 4. Stele. British Museum, London, Inv. BM 8468. Courtesy British Museum, London.

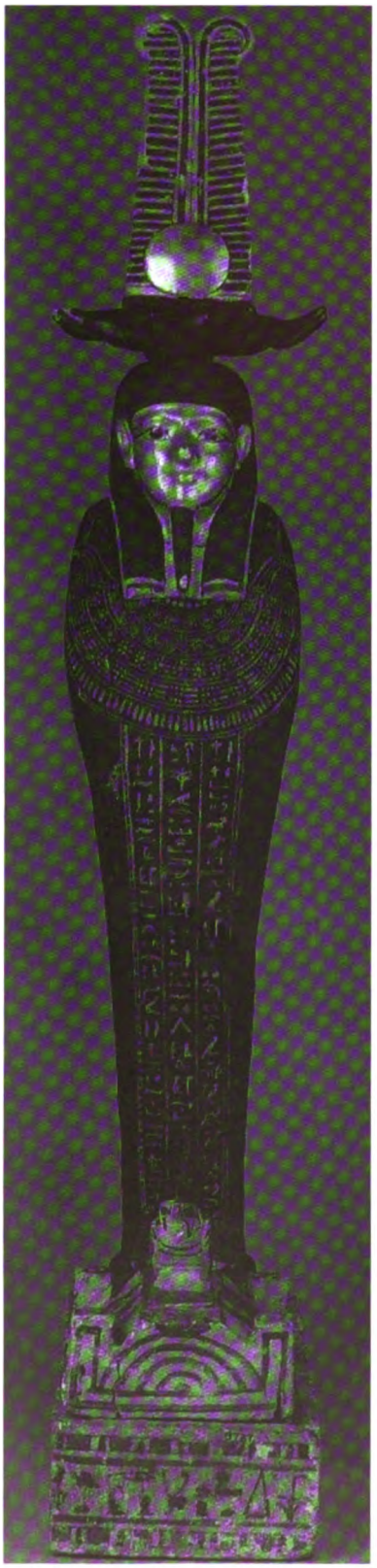
Digitized by Google

the prow and worships the cosmic gods, Re, Atum, Khepri, Shu, Tefnut and Geb. In the third section Nswj is seen striding, in a pose familiar from the scene on his block-statue, praying before an altar on which is an offering cooled by a lotus flower. The gods, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Harsiese, Hathor, Anubis and Wepwawet facing Nswj have all close links with the dead. The fourth section has a hieroglyphic text of five lines with a prayer to the sun gods, Re-Harakhty and Khepri. The names of Nswj and of his mother Taker-heb, are at the beginning on the right. The stele rests on two pedestals (the j3.t-hills) and is topped by a Ba-bird representing Nswj. The stele is meticulously painted in vivid colours following a fixed pattern.[31] This brings us back to the block-statue on which at a first impression there seem to be traces of colour following the same rules. Red dots, however, are for no apparent reason found under the depiction of Thoth, in the nostrils and corners of the mouth of the statue itself, and its eyes are painted white. All this raises suspicions. Furthermore, this stele shows Nswj either with a bald head or wearing a blue wig, whereas on the block-scene he is depicted with a brown wig. As a general rule a block-statue is not painted; different shades are obtained by different methods of polishing.[32] It could well be that some art dealer added colour to the otherwise colourless block-statue. A simple laboratory test would supply the answer. Thus, since there are no other block-statues with paint and this block does not show any sign of particular originality, except in the depiction of Thoth, one dares to suggest that the colouring on the block is false, contrary to the paint on the stele.

The Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue BM 9737

A second monument in the British Museum belonging to the same Nswj, written here  is a wooden statue of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (*Fig. 5*).[33] It was a gift to the museum from Anastasi. In the syncretic form of the three gods, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Sokar was the one most often represented in the Late Period, from c. 750 B.C. onwards. Sokar was the God of the necropolis of Memphis, the capital city in the North. He was

Digitized by Google



shown as a human, often as a mummy, with the head of a hawk or falcon. Sokar was already linked with Ptah in the Old Kingdom (2686–2181 B.C.) probably because both gods were from Memphis. Both were patrons of craftsmen.[34] The association between Sokar and Osiris, also in the Old Kingdom, came about because both were gods of the dead, Sokar in the North and Osiris originally in the South, where he was slain by Seth, his brother, in Abydos. This kind of statue from 0.40 to 0.80 m high is always in wood, standing on a socle in the shape of a sarcophagus. From its mummiform body only the head and sometimes the hands are recognizable body parts outside the bandages. On the head is a composite crown. There can be a back pillar. The base can be 0.50 m long and stretches itself out in front of the statue. In the socle can be a hole like a miniature burial place. It can be covered like a pencil case with a piece of wood, decorated with a mummy-falcon, thus connecting Osiris (mummy) and Sokar (falcon) again. Another cheaper possibility is that the statue itself is hollow. In that case the statue consists of two parts, the front and the back. These statues are colourful in the traditional symbolic way and they are unobtrusively in all collections of Egyptian Art. Until the scholar M. Raven took an intense interest in their colourful and multiple presence hardly anyone was directly involved in researching their beauty and purpose.[35]

The statue was normally to be found in the tomb close to the mummy, in the sarcophagus chamber or even inside the outer coffin. The statue was thus an element in the rites of the dead and needed to be close to the corpse to be functional. In the necropolis of Western Thebes the Festival of Sokar was a huge celebration in honour both of the dead and of their re-awakening.[36] All the statues come from private tombs and there is never more than one for every dead person. There are variations according to time and means and the statue of Nswj belongs to the group with the gilded face and red or black body. This group is, according to the scheme of M. Raven, rather high, ca. 0.80 m, elegant, wearing a crown with two high feathers, a wig and the

Fig. 5. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue. British Museum, London, Inv. BM 9737. From Ian Shaw & Paul Nicholson, British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt 2, London 1996, 274.

Digitized by Google

beard of the gods with a rolled-up end. The collar ends on the shoulders in two falcons' heads. Usually there is a back pillar with a text of a hymn to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and some form of cavity in the base.[37]

In this group the statue of Nswj is one of the most sophisticated. The statue wears a huge crown with curled black ram's horns carrying the gold sun disk and two feathers, striped blue and gold. The dark blue wig and beard, like the feathers imitating the colour of the precious lapis lazuli, surround the idealised, happy gilded face and slightly protruding ears. The eyes are painted on the gold in fine strokes of black with some white. Eyebrows and mouth are not accentuated with paint. The wig ends in three horizontal stripes, white-red-white, and is bordered with gold. The slim, black body, without hands showing, has three columns of hieroglyphic text in front and one on the back pillar. The columns are separated by vertical lines and a small chequered band on the outsides. Texts and collar are painted on the black, wooden statue in orange-gold paint; both are decorated in very clear, fine signs, in flowers and gems. We see the name of Nswj, in the version Nswjj,[38] in the centre of the left column, together with the name of his father, Ṯaimu.

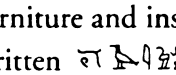
The base bears black inscriptions and red-green checked bands on a yellow-white ground; here we again find Nswj's name. This indicates that the statue was regarded as a representation of the deceased, identifying with Ptah-Sokar in order to live forever. The source for this is the text 'Hail to thee, Ptah-Sokar, great god, lord of Shethet, Osiris Nswj, mayest thou live forever.'[39] The other lines of the text are extremely rich in mythological imagery. Creation and renewal of creation are invoked by four figures of speech: reference to the Demiurge and his children, the gods, who came forth out of his spittle, to Osiris, to the left eye, and to the primeval waters and the emerging holy hill. These themes of the liturgical text are all already known to us and fit perfectly into the strain of traditional religious thought expressed in the block-statue and the stele.

The cover of the base is the last item to be described here. It is like the lid of a sarcophagus, rounded, with four square pillars at the corners, painted a yellowish-white with green and red stripes.

Digitized by Google

A mummiform hawk without sun-disk is seated in front of the statue. A "fibrous object, about 6 inches long" was kept in the small sarcophagus, most probably a rolled-up papyrus containing a text from the Book of the Dead.[40]

The mummy, mummy-case and coffins of NME 5, 6, 7

We have now met Nswj three times. On the block-statue from the temple area, his status in life is represented. On the stele from the tomb, he is, as a priest, on his way to his meeting with the gods of the sky and of the Netherworld. As a symbolic mummy, he is the personification of three gods of earth and eternity, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. This last object was functional when placed close to the deceased in his tomb. The correct order, however, is disturbed because the mummy, the mummy-case and the two wooden coffins of Nswj are to be found in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm (NME 5, 6 & 7).[41] Publications on this burial ensemble are sparse, yet it should be highly valued as it represents the final stage of development of this pharaonic-type burial, the last purely Egyptian assemblage of tomb furniture and inscriptions. On the Stockholm items the name is written  .

The mummy and mummy-case **NME 5** is in very good condition, with only the bandages on the shoulders slightly frayed (*Fig. 6*). It is 1.80 m long. Two radiological reports from the 1950s and 1960s describe the body as that of a well-developed, fully grown, healthy male.[42] The head has a broad forehead and an equally broad lower jaw. There are no teeth missing; there is no sign of caries. The heart is in the correct place and the four packages with the viscera are most probably also present in the body, as shadows on the X-rays show. On each heel-bone there is a small wen (0.01 m high). The age of Nswj could be anywhere between twenty and seventy years. The mummy was never unwrapped. There is an amulet in the mouth, in the shape of a stele 22 x 35 mm in size. Other amulets, ceramic as well as metallic, are scattered all over the body, wrapped into the bandages.[43] The mummy-case, which covers the body from shoulders

Digitized by Google

Fig. 6. Detail of NME 5.

to feet, is divided into three parts: the thorax case, the body-cartonnage and the foot-case.

The surface of the body-cartonnage is covered with standard funerary images and texts, gilded on blue-green rectangles. These are separated horizontally by ribbons with a rosette pattern, whereas vertically the remains of strings of blue, tubular fayence beads – probably not a net but with the same check pattern as nets – are visible between the rectangles. In the middle, the breast is covered by a winged scarab in blue and gold, and under this Nut is kneeling, also in blue and gold. Under Nut, a long vertical strip in gold, reaching down to the feet, again names the

Digitized by Google

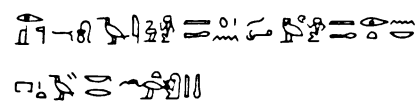
deceased and his parents. A heart scarab in blue fayence, attached to the case, is positioned over the heart.

In the thorax region a collar, richly decorated with gold and coloured paint and comprising thirteen half circles, contains a scarab and pectoral in the middle.

The foot-case has a dark-red base with white sandals painted on. Images of bound foreign captives symbolise the triumph of the deceased over the forces of chaos which might threaten his survival in the underworld. The sole of each sandal bears the text:

'Your enemies are all under your soles.' All known examples of this motif are dated to Graeco-Roman times.[44]

The gilded mask above the mummy-case depicts a painted face with big painted eyes and eyebrows outlined in blue. There are traces of the beard, which has been broken off. The face is framed by a dark-blue wig, ending in three horizontal gold stripes. The wig has a gold headband and is seamed at the back by a small blue and white flowered strip. Two vertical gilded strips, starting at the neck, again give the names of the family:

left side: 

right side:

Between the collar and the wig a piece of embroidered textile in blue, white, yellow and red shows two ded-pillars and two Anubis figures in black. The Anubis on the right side of Nswj has nearly disappeared, but the frieze could be similar to one, studied by J. Leclant, which is in the Louvre.[45]

The anthropomorphic inner coffin NME 6 is made of wood (*Fig. 7*). The outside of its cover carries inscriptions. Both these inscriptions and the inner coffin itself have been examined by Dr. B. George. Her findings constitute the only publication *in extenso* of work done on this important burial ensemble which narrates the essence of the conditions under which Nswj will live

Digitized by Google

eternally in his tomb and beyond.[46] The coffin resembles the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue in many respects, although it is, of course, much larger and more rectangular in shape. The idealised, plump face is again gilded, and the eyes are painted on the gold in fine, black strokes. The eyebrows and the inner rim of the ears are also lined in black.

The square wig, dark-blue, encircles the head in the same way as the wig on the head of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris but there is a finely painted diadem – with pointed lotus leaves alternating with checks – around it, instead of the heavy crown. The wig ends in two straight lines marked by three horizontal stripes. The divine beard is plaited. The heavy collar on the dark wood is a splendid treasure. Unlike the collar of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue it is inlaid, not painted. Gilded, with inlays of small faience pieces and stones, it is like another fragment of a collar stored in the Louvre. Garlands of natural-looking lotus flowers and buds alternate with checked bands in rich, artistic interaction.[47] Over the collar hangs a pectoral with three inlaid lotus flower leaves a-top a square jewel with three squatting gods. Under the collar a winged scarab holds the sun-disk, inlaid in gold. The disk repeats the shine of the round golden face, symbolising the sun re-emerging from the earth after the night. This rebirth is the example Nswj follows, the earth being represented by the mummiform dark brown coffin, the Osiris feature.

Fig. 7. NME 6.

Digitized by Google

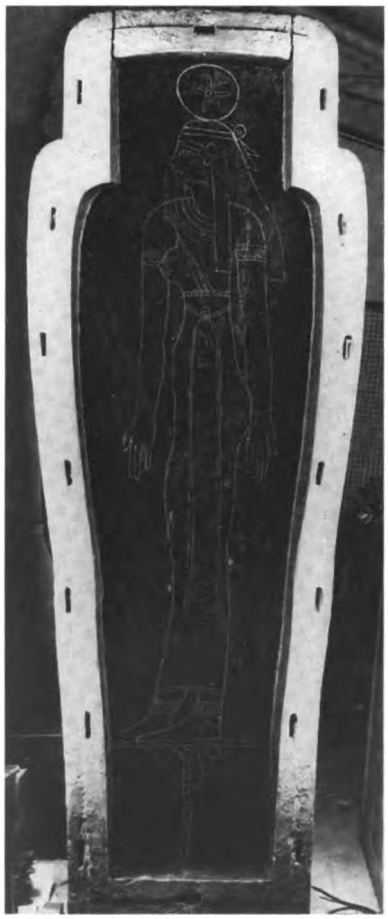


Fig. 8. Inside of NME 7.

Under the winged scarab is an inscription in three columns, separated by three lines and executed in silhouette. These lines are flanked by three figures on both sides. All are in black paint. Four of these figures are mummies, but are recognisable by their heads; they are the four sons of Horus. The two goddesses under the genii are the divine wailing women, Isis and Nephthys, sisters of Osiris. They are normally represented at the foot and the head of the coffin respectively, protecting the deceased to the north and to the south. Under the feet lie two jackals, symbolising the ends of the world where the sun disappears and rises again. They lie upside-down as their attention is fixed on the sun-disk in the middle of the coffin, and on the golden head. Their name, Wepwawet, is inscribed. This jackal god, originally standing, was in Ptolemaic times closely related to Anubis, also a black canid, though depicted lying down. Whereas Wepwawet performed the Opening-of-the-Mouth ceremony and led the deceased through the Netherworld, Anubis was the guardian of the dead. Both Wepwawet and Anubis, standing, are also present on the third register of the stele, striding towards Nswj.

The text between all these good companions describes the entrance of Re, after sunset, into the Netherworld and his occupations there among the dead. Re pays special attention to Nswj and assures him that his residence in the tomb will be unperturbed, a guarantee for a happy after-life. The text is a shortened quotation from a book of the New Kingdom, originally meant for the Royal House, but variations are known to have been used from studies of this and three other private coffins of the latest periods.[48]

The outer coffin NME 7, also of wood, is of massive proportions and belongs to the coffin-type with protuberant lid (*Fig. 8*).[49] It is the equivalent in wood of the anthropoid stone sarcophagus. The texts and figures are in yellowish-white on a black background. The motifs, for example those of the barque and of the procession of gods at the side edges of the lid, again mark the burial ensemble as a Late Period one, and link this coffin iconographically to the stele. The texts again mention the family while Nswj himself has his name written down in its simplest form, that used throughout this dossier: . The texts are similar to other written standard funerary texts which give us informa-

Digitized by Google

tion concerning the period in which Nswj lived. The most striking iconography consists of a representation of the goddess-personification of the Netherworld – on the inside of the coffin – and the figural scenes on the outside.[50]

A comparable funerary equipment to that of Nswj is that of Hornedjitef, another Theban priest. Here there exist striking similarities in the texts, the depictions and the skills used in the process of mummification by those professionals employed by the lector-priests.[51] Not only are the objects nearly identical at first sight, but both the orthography and the morphology of the texts, as well as the iconography of the images, are of the same period, possibly even from the same work-shop. This is a fortunate chance as the Hornedjitef ensemble can be dated according to the titles used.[52] Hornedjitef lived during the reigns of Ptolemaios III and Berenike II and probably died before Ptolemaios III.[53] Not only was he a priest of Amun at Karnak but held other offices as well, including that of minister of the dynastic cult in Karnak. His parents and maternal grandparents are mentioned. His tomb was in Assassif, where Giovanni D'Athanasi discovered it for Henry Salt in 1820. Salt sold most of the finds to the British Museum in 1835, except for a fragment of the papyrus roll, now in New York, and the canopic chest, now in Leiden. Thus, the equipment of Hornedjitef consists of: the mummy and mummy-case, BM 6679,[54] the inner coffin, BM 6678 – famous for its astronomical pictures on the inside,[55] the outer anthropomorphic coffin, BM 6677 – black with yellow signs and pictures (not yet edited), the hypocephalus, BM 8446,[56] the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue, BM 9736 (not yet edited), the papyrus, BM 10037 and P.Amherst 35 in the Pierpont Morgan Library[57] (together forming a hieratic copy of the Book of the Dead) and the canopic chest, Leiden AH 215.[58]

A synopsis of the texts on the magnificent ensemble of Hornedjitef and on that of Nswj is in preparation.

The working place, the burial place

I shall now turn to a brief investigation of the world within which Nswj lived and worked. Nswj was a cultivated man, scribe

Digitized by Google

and, for several years at least, full-time priest. The god he served was Montu, the old falcon-headed warrior god of Thebes.[59] This god first appears in the Pyramid Texts, in ascension spells.[60] Because of his aggressive nature he plays no part in funeral ceremonies. Under the reign of the kings with the theophoric name Mentu-Hotep, Montu rose to great esteem. This lasted until well into Roman times.[61] His epithet was "Lord of Thebes", even when Amun rose to pre-eminence in that city. Montu was venerated in temples in Medamud, Tod and Armant, as well as throughout the Theban region. We possess few details of Montu's early priesthood and cult. As god of war, he often received in Ptolemaic rituals a pectoral in return for the king's safety.[62] In magical texts, Montu was invoked against personal enemies.[63]

His temple in Thebes lies in the north, in a walled enclosure separate from the Amun temple area. The enclosure is named House of Montu and measures 151 x 155 m. The temple, measuring 26.25 x 52.50 m, was built by the kings Amenhotep II and III of the 18th dynasty. The buildings were enlarged under Ramses II of the 19th dynasty and under Taharqa of the 25th.[64] During the reign of the kings Ptolemaios III and IV (from 246–205 B.C.), the propylon – the so-called Gate of Montu – was built in the northern part of the surrounding wall,[65] giving access to a procession lane flanked by sphinxes. This led directly to Montu's next cult centre at Medamud. Other buildings in the Montu precinct included one of the rare temples dedicated to Maat, goddess of universal harmony, temples of Thoth and Amon, of the child-god Hor-pa-re, and various other chapels. Members of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale at Cairo have been engaged in excavating the House of Montu since 1939.[66] Here, Nswj had his office in the second half of the 3rd century B.C., a period of serious revolts in Thebes beginning in the year 246.[67] His block-statue, together with those of others, must later have flanked the walls of the temple, as sphinxes flanked the procession way.

During Nswj's lifetime the "Demotic Chronicle" was a piece of nationalist propagandist literature. It was a collection of romantic tales of earlier kings, clearly emphasising the pre-Ptolemaic Egyptian tradition.[68] The later "Oracle of the Potter" is

Digitized by Google

another example of such patriotic literature.[69] Thus the preservation of the old Egyptian traditions found verbal expression in a lively demotic literature, and was particularly pervasive amongst writers and priests in the Egyptian religious establishment. We cannot prove that Nswj read the "Demotic Chronicle", but he formed part of the social class that could have. Furthermore, he lived in a time of decline and revolt, at least in Thebes. By his choice of funeral monuments he shows a preference for past times – the glorious 18th and 19th dynasties – when the kings favoured his city. Above all, there is not one token in his funerary equipment, except perhaps the amulet in his mouth, which shows the influence of the Greek-speaking ruling class of his day. On the contrary, he clings to the old, rich symbolism, to royal hymns and traditional representations.

Seventy days after his death Nswj's body crossed the Nile. The funeral procession carried him to the tomb he had prepared for himself in the hills, now called Dra Abu el Naga, the northern part of the Valley of the Kings, where the high officials of the New Kingdom had themselves buried. There he was laid to rest, with the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue next to him, and his stele and other artifacts he had treasured during his lifetime and wished to see and use again around him. This rest was to be shattered between 1820–1825 by two traders in antiquities, Anastasi and Piccinini.

Giovanni Anastasi (1780–1857) was an Armenian merchant in Alexandria.[70] His father came from Damascus in 1797 and carried on a successful business as supplier to the French Army. After the defeat of Napoleon the father was ruined but the son managed to re-establish himself, becoming an important merchant, Consul-General for Sweden and Norway, and trader in antiquities. He employed agents in Thebes to buy from the Theban locals. One of these agents was Piccinini, a native of Lucca, no first name known. Piccinini was active from 1820–1830, and was himself an excavator with a house in the north of the West Theban necropolis, south of Dra Abu el Naga, close to tomb number 161, and upon the hill enclosing the tomb of Nswj.[71] He acted as middleman for Anastasi and, although little is known about him, is frequently mentioned by travellers of that time. Anastasi became rich, selling a large collection of antiquities to the Dutch Govern-

Digitized by Google

ment (1828), another in London (1839) and a third in Paris (1857). He bequeathed a part of his fortune to Swedish charities and presented the remains of Nswj, with his coffins, to the King of Sweden and Norway in 1825 or 1826. The Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue he presented to the British Museum. The stele was sold to the same institution, as already mentioned.

Conclusion and questions

The block-statue in Amsterdam is Ptolemaic and its owner active in the second half of the 3rd century B.C. He was a scribe and a priest in the service of Montu in Thebes. His nick-name was Nswj, written with many variants. His father was Ṯaimu, his mother the mistress of the house, Taker-heb. The provenance of the block-statue could be the "Cachette" in Karnak.

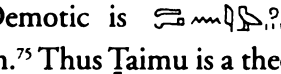
The artifacts numbered EA 8468 and EA 9737 in the British Museum, and those numbered NME 5, 6 and 7 in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, belong to the same Nswj. This is the important material which urges Egyptologists to continue this research, a great help with which is the comparative material discussed above.

Although Nswj's contemporary and probable colleague Hornedjitef has not yet been proved to have been a member of the extended priestly families in Thebes, the researcher must remain alert to new information that might clarify Hornedjitef's position within this society, as he must remain alert to information relative to the dossier on Nswj. At present, research tells us that the two burial ensembles are so similar as to have certainly been prepared in the same period – the reigns of Ptolemaios III and Berenike – and probably by the same "firm" of w3b-priests.

Another enticing point to be carefully investigated concerns the name of the mother, Taker-heb. This name is well-known as that of a member of a prominent Theban family of scribes in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.,[72] a period encompassing the lifetime of Taker-heb, mother of Nswj. It is tempting to see her as a member of the well-known Theban family mentioned above but the name alone cannot be used as a basis for identification although the house of the other Taker-heb was in the northern

Digitized by Google

part of Thebes, close to, or in, the Montu precinct. The results, therefore, of this research are not entirely satisfactory; more questions are raised than answered.

The name of the father is as uncertain as that of the mother.[73] As Σαμαυς it is well-known from the Greek text of the Dream of Nectanebos.[74] The goddess Isis herself took Σαμαυς into her service, a man who later on is called " Προεστως of the temple of Sebennytos", and who must have been a high official of this town, governor or even high-priest of the Onuris temple. The link between the Egyptian and the Greek names can be found in the Demotic script; in the Zenon archives there exists a bill in both Greek and Demotic, signed by Σαμωυς Αμεννεως, whose name in Demotic is  in hieroglyphic transcription.[75] Thus Ṯaimu is a theophoric personal name of the Late Period, meaning "God has taken them". In the case of the man from Sebennytos, the god is probably Onuris-Ares, and the direct object designates enemies in general. With these forms cleared through the Demotic script the name has a place on the record from the 4th century B.C. on.[76]

But what is the real name of Nswj? As the tomb was found unlooted by Piccinini, there must have been papyrus finds, at least inside the coffin. Where is this most important part of Nswj's standard funerary equipment today? And finally, where can be found the entrance to the tomb which was still intact between 1820 and 1830 and which was physically robust enough to support the house of Piccinini?

As the publication of the complete dossier on Nswj is in preparation by the author of this article, all suggestions concerning the lacunae enumerated above are most welcome and will be honoured in a shorter time than the 84 years that lapsed between Boeser's evaluation and this preliminary review.

Margreet van Hoeij
35, Rue Malakoff
LU-2114 Luxembourg-Clausen

Digitized by Google

Acknowledgements

I thank Jhr Jan Six in Amsterdam for trusting me while handling the Six Family treasures; Prof.Dr. H.J.A. de Meulenaere and Dr. L. Limme in Brussels for guiding me in the right direction; Prof.Dr. W. Clarysse of Leuven for his critical encouragement, and Dr. J. Taylor of the British Museum for sending me a copy of the hand-written description made by Dr. S.Birch of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue BM 9737.

I am especially indebted and grateful to Dr. B.J. Peterson and Dr. B. George of the Medelhavsmuseet; they allowed me free use of all the archive material I needed, including the copy Prof. T. Säve-Söderbergh made in 1939 of the texts on NME 5, 6 and 7 of Nswj. Their scholarly interest made my stay in Stockholm a most fruitful one.

Last but not least I thank my friends the linguists Irmtraud Noering, Ann Overstall and Enrica de Dominguez, M.A. for revising this article thoroughly and efficiently. Irmtraud Noering copied the hieroglyphic inscriptions professionally and with great care.

A complete survey of the texts of Nswj will be published in due course.

[1] S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, New York 1987, an interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age

[2] Dr. P.A.A. Boeser, in W.R. Dawson, E.P. Uphill & M.L. Bierbrier, *Who was Who in Egyptology*', London 1995, 51.

[3] Letter in the Six-archives.

[4] Unlike Six, Pierson started his career as a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. See biographical information on Six, Dr. U.P. Boissevain, Jaarboek der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen 1928–1929.

[5] Six's bibliography edited by Het Koninklijke Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Amsterdam 1933.

[6] E. Feucht, Cachette, in *LÄ* I, cols. 893–894; PM II², 136 ff.

[7] G. Legrain (*Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, Cairo 1906–1925, 3 vol. + index) describes 150 statues; idem, 'Renseignements sur les dernières découvertes faites à Karnak', *RecTrav* 27, 1905, 61–82; idem, 'Nouveaux renseignements sur les dernières découvertes faites à Karnak', *RecTrav* 28, 1906, 137–161; H.J.A. de Meulenaere, 'La prosopographie Thébaine de l'époque Ptolémaïque à la lumière des sources hiéroglyphiques', in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, ed. S.P. Vleeming, Leiden 1995, 83–90.

[8] H.J.A. de Meulenaere, 'Würfelhocker' in *LÄ* VI, cols. 1291–1292; R. Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus*, Hildesheim 1992, 783.

[9] Wb I, 54, 63; Wb II, 71, 415 (females); Wb III, 156-157, 308, 385; Wb IV, 38, 451, 536; Wb V, 255; D. Wildung, 'Bilanz eines Defizits', in *Studien zur Aegyptischen Kunstgeschichte*, eds. M. Eaton-Krauss & E. Graefe, Hildesheim 1990, 57–80.

[10] Wb III, 154, 156–157; Schulz (supra n. 8), 770–771.

[11] R.A. Fazzini, 'Block-statue of Wahibre' in *Cleopatra's Egypt*, Brooklyn Museum, New York 1989, 123–124.

[12] H. Schäfer, *Von Aegyptischer Kunst* (first published 1919, re-edited E. Brunner-Traut), Wiesbaden 1963, 55; Schulz, the specialist in this matter, struggled with this problem: she decided in favour of the term 'Kubuide Statue' in 1990 (Statue Pn-Rcw, see supra n. 9, 95–108) and 'Kuboide Statue' in 1992 (see supra n. 8).

[13] A. Eggebrecht, 'Zur Bedeutung des Würfelhockers' in *Festgabe für Dr. Walter Will*, München 1966,143–163.

[14] W. Westendorf, 'The block-statue is a variant of the resurrection-theology', *Das Alte Aegypten*, München 1968, 80. Against the continuity of this symbolism, see Schulz (supra n. 8), 784.

Digitized by Google

[15] Schulz (supra n. 8), 690; H. Te Velde, 'Commemoration in Ancient Egypt' in *Commemorative Figures. Papers presented to Th.P. van Baaren*, Leiden 1982 [= Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography, 1], 135-153; A. Radwan, 'Gedanken zum "Würfelhocker"', *GM* 8, 27–31.

[16] H. Ranke, *Die Aegyptischen Personennamen* I, Glückstadt 1935, 180,6: 'Nswj'. The block-statue: 'Ns-w3j'; idem 174,7: 'Ns-w3jw'. (see note 41); P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* I', Glückstadt 1973, 236: 'Nswjj, Ns-wtt'.

[17] Schulz (supra n. 8), 717, 727, 785.

[18] Lactuca sativa. The lettuce is a symbol of fertility and life comparable to the looped cross or ankh-sign, see R. Germer, 'Lattich' in *LÄ* III, cols. 938–939.

[19] Compare to B.V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, Brooklyn 1960, especially no. 102 pl. 95, figs. 255–256, no. 117 pls. 108–109, figs. 291–292, 295.

[20] E. Young, 'An Offering to Thoth: A Votive Statue from the Gallatin Egyptian Collection', *BMMA* 25, 1967, 273–282. All data are taken from this publication. For the conflict between Horus and Seth, see H. te Velde, 'Horus and Seth', in *LÄ* III, cols. 25–27; for Heseret, see W. Helck, 'Heseret', *LÄ* II, col. 1171; for the cult of the moon, see P. Derchain, *La lune: mythes et rites*, Paris 1962 and H. Brunner, 'Chons', in *LÄ* I, cols. 960–963; for Thoth, see D. Kurt, 'Thot', in *LÄ* VI, cols. 497–523.

[21] Bothmer (supra n. 19), 32–34: Ankh-pa-Khered with Osiris. Height 41.3 cm. Provenance almost certainly Karnak. Material green-black schist. City Art Museum of St. Louis (MO), no. 222:24.

[22] The same Ankh-pa-Khered, son of Wsr-wr, is known as "prophet of Thoth" from a papyrus in Florence (Fir. 3678=TDF 6) and probably also from a block-statue in Cairo (Cairo JE 38009), unedited. G. Botti, *Testi Demotici*, Firenze 1941, 35–38, Prosopographia Ptolemaica, vol. IX, 5865a, dated to the period of Ptolemaios III; De Meulenaere (supra n. 7), 83–90, esp. 86.

[23] Egyptian Gallery of the National Museum, Warsaw, Inv. MN 17329; A. Niwinski, 'Excavations in a Late Period priest's mummy at the National Museum, Warsaw, Preliminary Report', in *Atti VI Congresso internazionale di Egittologia* II ,Turin 1993, 357–361 + pl. 5.

[24] Brooklyn 6G. 115.1: H.J.A. de Meulenaere, *Égypte éternelle: chefs d'oeuvre du Brooklyn Museum*, Bruxelles 1977, 126.

[25] G.D. Scott III, *Temple, Tomb and Dwelling: Egyptian Antiquities from the Harer Family Trust Collection*, San Bernardino 1992, 53–55, no. 28.

[26] PM II², 20; M. Dewachter, 'A propos du temple de Thot à Karnak-nord', *RdE* 36, 1985, 175–177, 187; J. Quaegebeur, 'Papyrological evidence of priests of Thot', *OLP* 6/7, 1975–1976, 477.

[27] PM I²,778–881; D. O'Connor, 'Malqata' in *LÄ* III, cols. 1174–1175.

[28] K. Vandorpe, 'City of many a gate, harbour for many a rebel. Historical and topographical outline of Graeco-Roman Thebes', in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, ed. S.P. Vleeming, Leiden 1995, 222, 226, 228; J. Quaegebeur, 'Teephibis' in *LÄ*, VI col. 289, idem, 'Teëphibis, dieu oraculaire?', *Enchoria* 5, 1975, 19–24; K.Th. Zauzich, 'Teephibis als Orakelgott', *Enchoria* 4, 1974, 163.

[29] M.L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae etc.* , Part 11, London 1987, 40–41, Ptolemaic Period.

[30] Nswjj and Nswt, in the 4th section, Nswtt. See n. 16.

[31] E. Brunner-Traut, 'Farben' in *LÄ* II, cols. 117–128; H. Kees, 'Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religösen Texten', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften* 11, 1943, 413–479.

[32] P. Bianchi, 'The Pharaonic Art of Ptolemaic Egypt', in *Cleopatra's Egypt*, Brooklyn 1988, 55–80, esp. 72. On authenticity: E. Iversen, Some Ancient Paints and Pigments, Copenhagen 1955.

[33] H.J.A. de Meulenaere, 'Recherches Onomastiques', *Kemi* 16, 1962, 29–37, esp. 31.

Digitized by Google

(see note 41).

[34] E. Brovarski, 'Sokar', in *LÄ* V, cols. 1055–1074.

[35] M.J. Raven, 'Papyrus-sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues', *OMRO*, 59–60, 1978–1979, 251–296; E.A. Budge, The Mummy, Cambridge 1925, 382–385.

[36] W. Helck, 'Sokarfest', in *LÄ* V, cols. 1074-1075; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1971, 726. The festival coincided with the beginning of the work in the fields and the yearly lengthening of the days.

[37] Raven (supra n. 35), 266–267.

[38] See n. 30.

[39] BM. Unpublished manuscript S. Birch; Raven (supra n. 35), 275. Shethet is the name of the sanctuary of Sokar in Memphis; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1982, Sign list V 19.

[40] BM Unpublished manuscript S. Birch.

[41] This funerary ensemble, the mummy and the coffins was mentioned by Wilkinson, Unpublished manuscript v. 170 (bottom) as found in the hill of Piccinini's house (PM I^2, 832). Bierbrier (supra n. 29), 40. NME 5: J. Lieblein, *Katalog öfver egyptiska fornlämningar i Nationalmuseum*, Stockholm 1868; V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre i det gamle Ægypten. Typologisk Atlas*, Copenhagen 1919, 225; *5000 år egyptisk konst*, Stockholm 1961, nr. 167; L. Diener, 'Mumier i röntgenljus', *Medicinhistorisk Årsbok*, 1967, fig. 5.
Plant fragments found on the mummy: see E.A.M. Greiss, *Anatomical Identification of Plant Material from ancient Egypt*, BIE 31, 1948–1949, 249–278.
Name: J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques en ordre généalogique et alphabétique*, Christiania 1871, 1233; Ranke (supra n. 16) I, 174,7; De Meulenaere (supra n. 33), 29–37, esp. 31.
NME 6: J. Lieblein, 1868 (see under NME 5); V. Schmidt, ibid, 225; M.L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, Copenhagen 1959, 158; B. George, Ein Text der Ptolemäerzeit über das Dasein in Unterwelt und Grab, *MedMusB* 14, 1979, 16 f.; *Medelhavsmuseet, En introduktion*. Stockholm 1982, 84–85.
NME 7: J. Lieblein, Kat. 1868 (see under NME 5); V. Schmidt, ibid, 225.

[42] X-Ray pictures and reports of Dr. C. Sandström, and Dr. L. Diener, in the archives of the Medelhavsmuseet (see n. 41).

[43] Niwinski (supra n. 23, 360–361) refers to similar objects.

[44] W.K. Simpson, 'Ptolemaic – Roman Cartonnage Footcases with Prisoners Bound and Tied', *ZÄS* 100, 1973, 50–54; G. Rühlmann, 'Deine Feinde fallen unter deine Sohlen: Bemerkungen zu einem altorientalischen Machtsymbol', in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität* 20, 1971, 61–84; R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54, Chicago 1993, 119–125; J. Quaegebeur, 'A la recherche du haut clergé thébain', in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, ed. S.P. Vleeming, Leiden 1995, 139-161, esp. 144–146.

[45] *L'Égypte du crépuscule*, eds. C. Aldred, F. Daumas, Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt & J. Leclant, Paris 1979, 213, fig. 205.

[46] George (supra n. 41)

[47] *L'Égypte du crépuscule*, (supra n. 45), 193, fig. 179.

[48] George (supra n. 41), 16. Comparable texts concern a Ptolemaic sarcophagus from Assiut, a wooden 30th dynasty coffin from Qaw (see G. Daressy, 'Sarcophage ptolémaique d'Assiout',*ASAE* 17, 1917, 95f), and a granite sarcophagus from Persian-Ptolemaic times, c. 530–300 (see G. Maspero & H. Gauthier, 'Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaique I' in *Catalogue Géneral du Caire*, Cairo 1914, nr. 29.301–29.323. Here 29.301.

[49] Niwinski (supra n. 23), 353.

[50] Compare Schmidt (supra n. 41), figs. 1177–1178 (Hathor).

[51] For the division of clerical offices, see S.P. Vleeming, 'The offices of a choachyte in the Theban Area', in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, ed. S.P. Vleeming, Leiden 1995, 241–255, esp. 245.

Digitized by Google

[52] PM I², 623–624; Prosopographia Ptolemaica, vol. IX, Leuven 1981, 5459, 5649, 7257.

[53] Quaegebeur (supra n. 44), 143–144.

[54] W.R Dawson & P.H.K. Gray, 'Mummies and Human Remains', in *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum* I, London 1968, 26, n. 48, pl. 13.

[55] O. Neugebauer & R.A. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts III, London 1969, 61, pl. 16B, 28.

[56] S. Birch, *PSBA* 6, 1884, 170–173.

[57] P. BM 10037, see S. Quirke, 'Owners of Funeral Papyri in the British Museum', *Occasional Papers* 92, London, 1993, 40, 74–75; J. Quaegebeur, 'La Stèle Brooklyn 71.37.2 reconsidérée', *GM* 129, 1990, 73–90.

[58] H.D. Schneider et al., *Art from ancient Egypt chosen from the Collection of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Nagoya City Museum, Nagoya 1987, 85; M.J. Raven, *De dodencultus van het Oude Egypte*, Amsterdam 1992, 79.

[59] J.F. Borghouts, 'Montu', in *LÄ* IV, cols. 202-204; G. Legrain, 'Notes sur le dieu Montou', *BIFAO* 12, 1916, 75 ff.; E. Otto, 'Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues', *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens* 16, Leipzig 1952, 37 f.

[60] Pyr 1378 b; 1081 a–b; Borghouts (supra n. 59), 202.

[61] 11th dynasty: Mentuhotep I (local king), 2125 B.C.; Mentuhotep II, III and IV (kings of re-united Egypt), 2055–1985 B.C.

[62] Borghouts (supra n. 59), 200; W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1, New York 1953, 155, fig. 157.

[63] Borghouts (supra n. 59) 202; M. Tosi & A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, Turin 1972, 64–65.

[64] PM II², 1–20.

[65] P. Barguet, 'Karnak', in *LÄ* III, col. 348, cols. 341–352; PM II², 2–4; H. Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels in Karnak-Nord*, Wiesbaden 1993; Vandorpe (supra n. 28), 212–213.

[66] Excavators: J. Jacquet and H. Jacquet-Gordon.

[67] A.K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs*, London 1986, 30; P.W. Pestman, 'Haronnophris and Chaonnophris: Two Indigenous Pharaohs in *Ptolemaic Egypt* (205–186 B.C.)', in *Hundred Gated Thebes*, ed. S.P. Vleeming, Leiden 1995, 102–137.

[68] W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibl. Nationale zu Paris*, Demotische Studien 7, Leipzig 1914, under no. 16; J. Johnson, The Demotic Chronicle as an Historical Source, *Enchoria* 4, 1974, 1–19; A.K. Bowman (supra n. 67), 31, 241, and note 14.

[69] This is dated to 130–115 B.C. though is in fact earlier as it is known to us only in Greek translation. See A.K. Bowman (supra n. 67), 31.

[70] W.R. Dawson, E.P. Uphill & M.L. Bierbrier, *Who was Who in Egyptology* ³, London 1995, 15.

[71] ibid, 333–334 (see also n. 41).

[72] The older Taker-heb (T3-kr-hb) is mentioned as mother of Hr-nfr on a statue, Lausanne, 7; as mother of Ns-mn on the situla, Brussels MRAH E6260; again as the mother of Hr-nfr in the Book of the Dead, Milan 1024 and on the hypocephalus, Turin 2322. The mother of this Taker-heb was Mwt-htpti, and her grandmother Ta-mn. Her husband was P3-hb, or Phibis. The family can be traced to Taker-heb's great-grandchild. She lived in the house of her brother-in-law, Harmaïs. See H. de Meulenaere & W. Clarysse, 'Notes de prosopographie thébaine', *CdE* 53, 1978, 226 ff., esp. 240; P. BM 10026; see also C.A.R. Andrews, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum* IV, London 1990, 18 (P.dem. BM 10026 Andrews).
Hr-nfr, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, vol. IX, PP 5476a, Lausanne and Turin, see H. Wild, Statue de Hor-Néfer au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, 173–222.

Digitized by Google

Ns-mn, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, vol. IX, 5569a, Brussels, see H. de Meulenaere, 'Prosopographia Ptolemaica', *CdE* 34, 1959, 244 ff, esepc. 247–249.
Hr-nfr, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, vol. IX, 5476a, Milan, see G. Lise, *La Collezione Egizia: Castello Sforzesco*, Milan 1988, 78–80.
The family-tree was researched and constructed by J. Quaegebeur (supra n. 44, 139–161, esp. 152–155.
The data concerning the mother and grandmother are from the mummy-bandages found in TT32 of the Theban necropolis by L. Kákosy, see L. Kákosy, *Dzehutimesz sírja Thébánan*, Budapest 1989.

[73] Hieroglyphics (thumb and arm): Wb V 346, 1ff; H. Ranke (supra n. 16), I 387, 13; W. Spiegelberg, *Die Namen* Σαμανς und Θαμους, Ταμως, *ZÄS* 64, 1929, 84–85.

[74] W. Spiegelberg cites literature and discussions, particularly those of U. Wilcken.

[75] University of Michigan Papyrus collection, Inv. 3199. Spiegelberg (supra n. 68).

[76] Spiegelberg (supra n. 68, 85), gives several versions in Greek of the Egyptian name, a. o., in Plato's *Phaedrus* (274). The genitive form is cited as the name of an ancient Egyptian king. Spiegelberg's versions: Σαμανς, Θαμους, Ταμως, Σαμωνς, θαμωνς, Θαμως, Τιμως, Ταχως, Τακως, Σανμαν(ς).

Digitized by Google

A Miniature Portrait of a Man with a Clean-shaven Head in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities

HEDVIG VON EHRENHEIM

In the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, there is a portrait of a bald or clean-shaven man, Inv. MM 1980:4 (*Figs. 1–4*). My purpose here is to publish the bust and to put forward some arguments concerning its authenticity.[1]

This marble bust was bequeathed to the Museum by the relatives of Mr. Folkard von Scherling in 1980. Scherling had inherited it from his brother, who had been an art dealer in Leiden, but it is unknown from where the bust came before it ended up in the artdealer's shop.[2]

Description

The bust, in one piece, is made of fine-crystalline marble and is well preserved. A small piece of the right ear is missing. The surface on the head, neck and chest is white, shifting to a more yellowish-white, and is more or less corroded. There are two white, corroded "dots" on the right side of the neck below the Adam's apple. The portrait was cleaned after the acquisition.

On the corroded surface, many small holes are visible. They vary in size. In the face and on the forehead, the holes are big and measure up to 1 mm in diameter (*Fig. 5;* see also the discussion on p. 65). There are no root-marks.

Measurements: Height 21.2 cm. Height of head (chin to crown) 11.6 cm. Width of shoulders 12.5 cm. Distance between the outer corners of the eyes 5.1 cm.

Digitized by Google

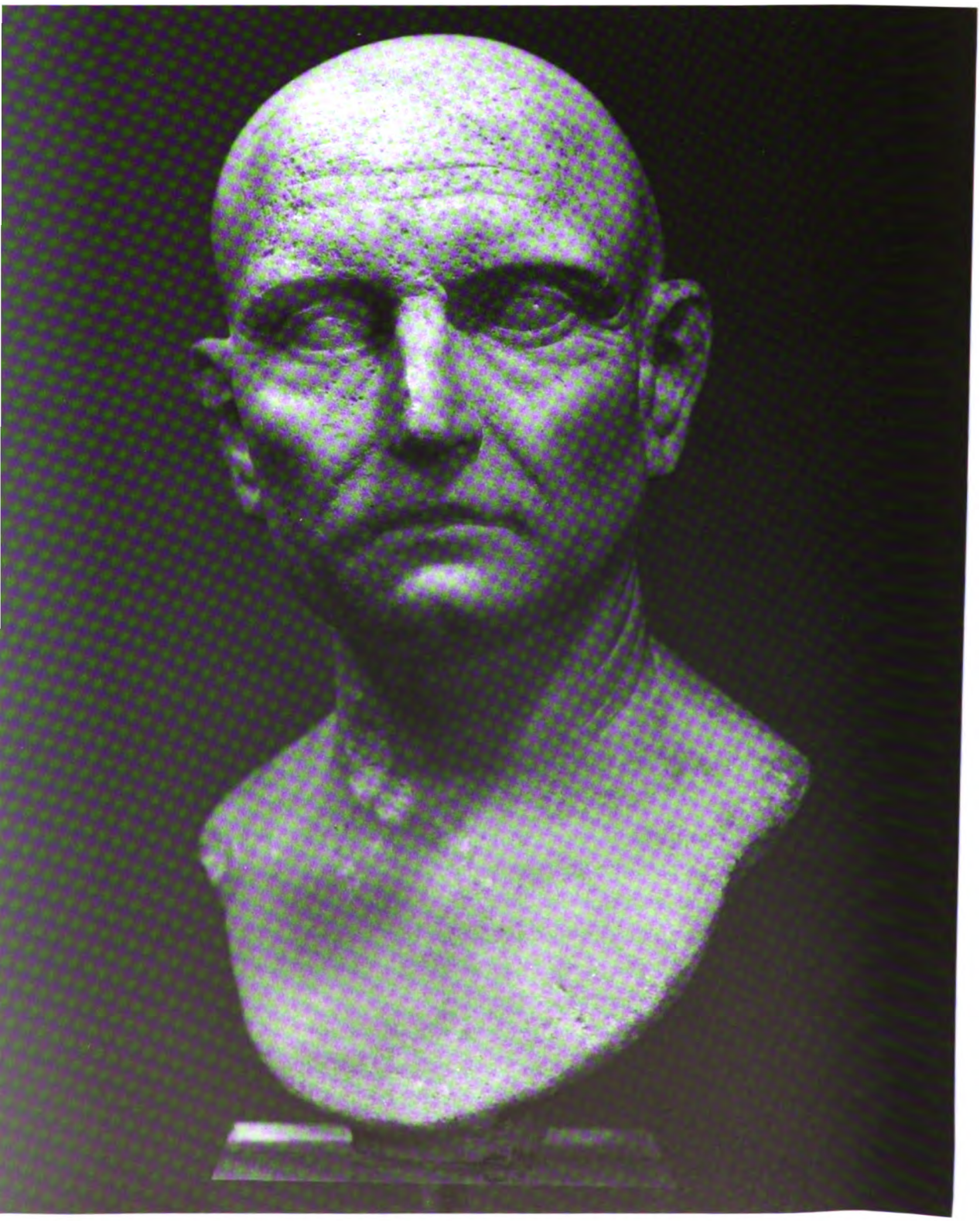


Fig. 1. MM 1980:4.

Digitized by Google

The head is turned to the left (his left, the viewer's right). The back of the head is long and rounded, joining the neck in a smooth and steep curve.

The face is square and the crown of the head flat. The right side of the face has been less worked than the left side, as can be seen in the more sketchy rendering of the eyes, cheeks, nostrils and ear on the right side. This is somewhat surprising, as the head is turned to the left, and consequently the right side is the more prominent when the bust is seen from the front.

Three wrinkles appear on the forehead and, where the eyebrows meet, two furrows are indicated. A faint wrinkle can also be noted across the root of the nose. The superciliary arches are sharply defined, but there is no indication of hair.

The eyes are large and oval. The pupils are not marked. The upper and lower eyelids are rather thin, and there are no sharp arrises where the lids meet the eyeballs. The upper lids overlap the lower at the outer corners of the eyes, which can be seen especially on the left eye. Three, very stylized wrinkles go from the outer corners of the eyes, two of them turning upwards, and one turning downwards. There is also an indication of bags under the eyes.

The nose is large. The bridge of the nose is straight. Seen in profile, the nose appears to have two calluses along the bridge. The wings of the nose are fairly long, and the nostrils clearly marked.

The lips are rather thin, tightly closed, and give the face a firm expression. Seen in profile, the upper lip protrudes above the lower. The outer edges of the lips are sketchy, as the emphasis is on the line of the closing. Light furrows from the corners of the mouth are indicated. The chin is small but accentuated, and has a dimple in the middle. It is marked out by an inward curve under the lower lip (this can be seen especially in profile).

The flesh of the cheeks is sagging, especially around the mouth, and clear furrows are marked from the wings of the nose downwards. The ears are rather large and oblong, extending from about the height of the superciliary arches, and down to about the same level as the tip of the nose. They are naturalistically rendered, with a deep ear-conch. Two wrinkles are shown in front

Digitized by Google

Figs. 1–4. MM 1980:4.

Digitized by Google

of the left ear; in front of the right ear, one wrinkle is sketched.

Under the chin, the Adam's apple is protruding. On the left side of the neck, four wrinkles are formed, in a very stylized manner, as a result of the turn of the head.

There is no facial hair. The baldness of the skull may be a way of showing a shaved head, as the man is middle-aged rather than old.

The bust shows part of the shoulders and torso. The collar-bones are marked, as well as the onset of the musculature of the upper arms. The bust has an oval outline, which ends just above the nipples.

The back of the bust is roughly chiselled and has a slightly convex shape. At the bottom, there is a tenon for the insertion of the bust in a base of some sort.[3] A modern nail is inserted in the middle of the tenon.

The shape of the bust, with an oval outline, existed in Late Republican to Julio-Claudian times.[4] As concerns the back of the bust, the formation of MM 1980:4 has parallels among Late Republican and Julio-Claudian busts.[5] Many of the portraits from this time probably stood in some form of support, since they have a tenon on the underside. MM 1980:4 has a shape similar to these, although the examples of bust forms of this type that I have seen have larger tenons, undoubtedly to obtain a secure fit into the base.

Style and comparisons

MM 1980:4 has no immediate parallels among other miniature sculptures.[6] A brief glance at catalogues gives me the impression that miniatures were not so very common in Republican times.

MM 1980:4 has rather sharply defined features, the most prominent being the large, oval eyes, the big nose, firm mouth and small chin, as well as the marked wrinkles from the wings of the nose and downwards. An interesting feature is the mixture of naturalistic and stylized traits. The shape of the skull, the Adam's apple,

Digitized by Google

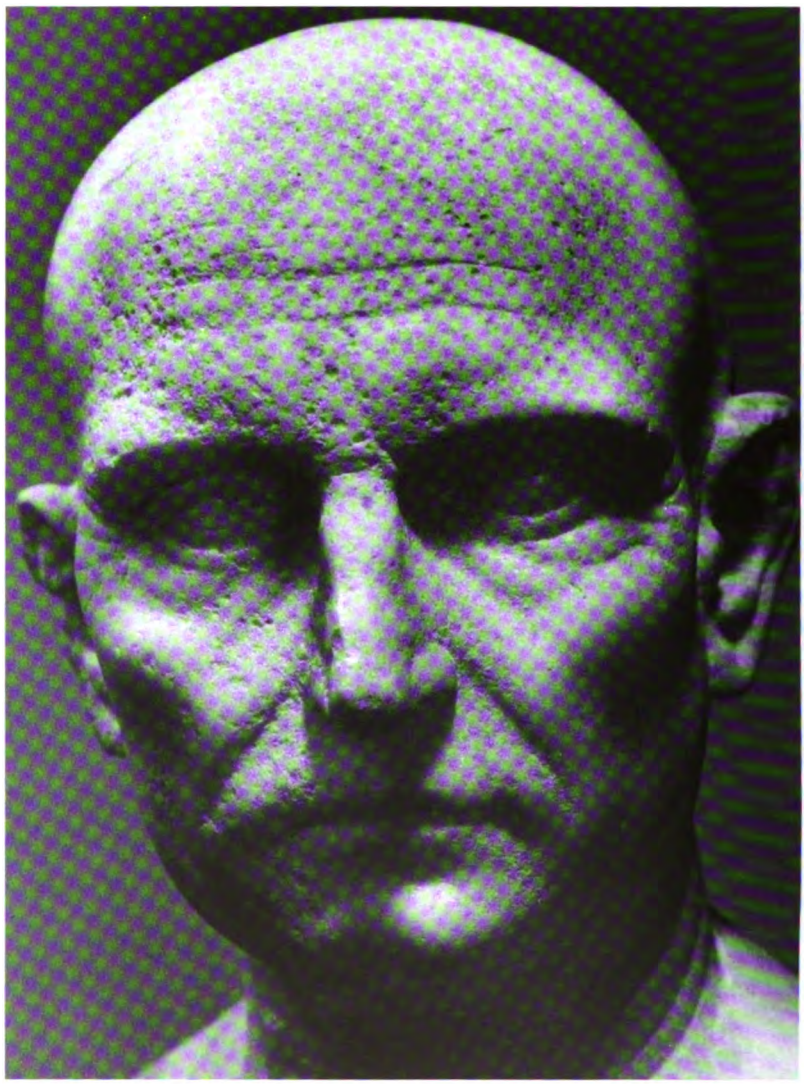
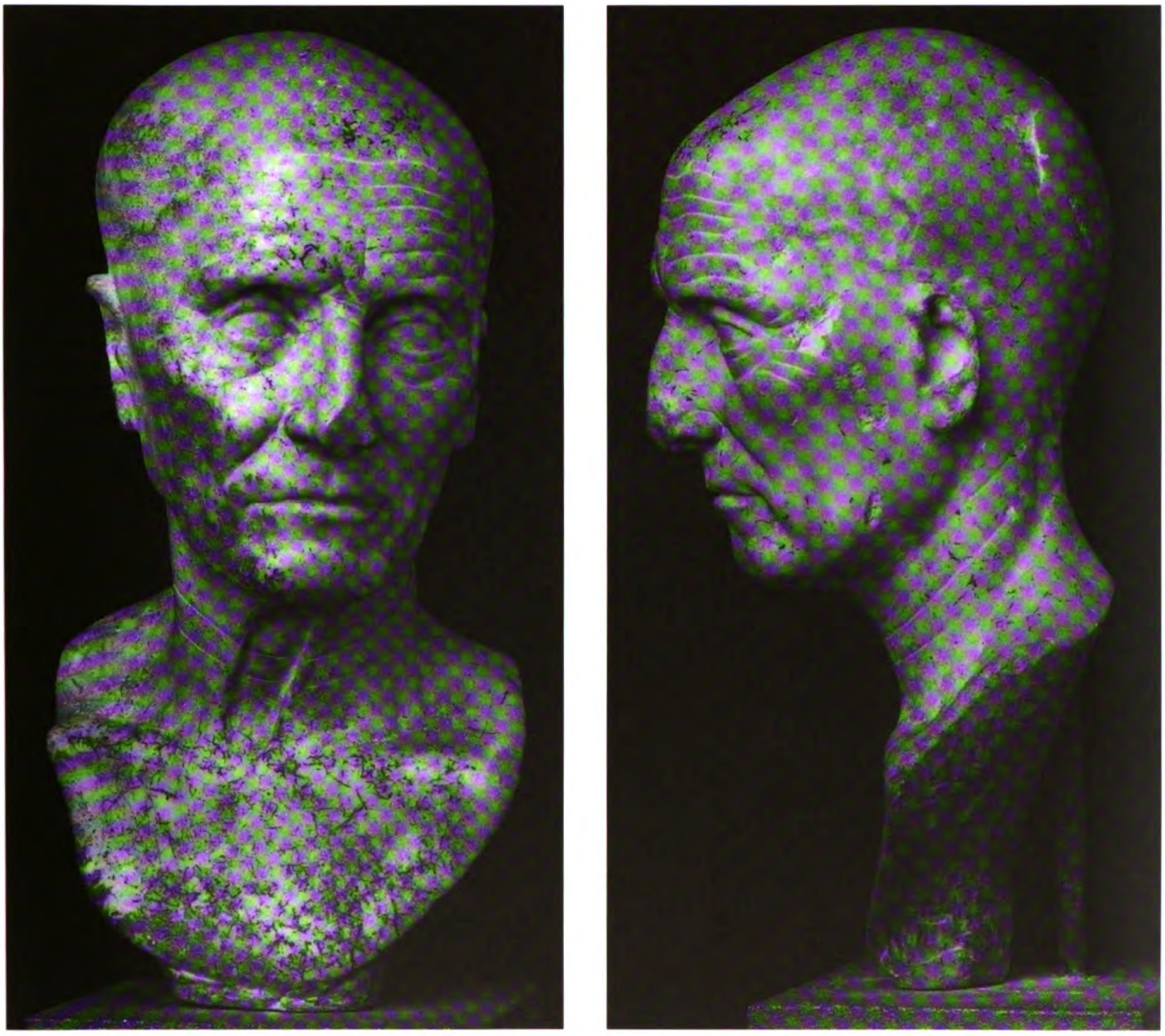


Fig. 5. Detail of forehead of MM 1980:4.

the dimple in the chin and the sagging flesh of the cheeks seem inconsistent with the stylized rendering of the eyes and the wrinkles on the left side of the neck, on the forehead and by the ears.

Stylistically, an interesting sculpture for comparison is a male portrait in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Inv. 27.211, height, 41 cm) (*Figs. 6–7*).[7] The Detroit portrait has a very similar bust form. MM 1980:4 and the Detroit portrait also have similar arrangements for attachment to a support, with a tenon on the underside. The tenon of MM 1980:4 is, however, smaller than that of the Detroit bust. Both portraits have bald or shaven heads, large noses and firm mouths, with lips that are rather thin and tightly closed.

Digitized by Google



Figs. 6–7. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Inv. 27.211.
Courtesy The Detroit Institute of Arts.

Both portraits also share a mixture of naturalistic and stylized traits. The heads are rendered with the same sagging flesh around the mouth and beneath the eyes and the dimple in the chin. On MM 1980:4, the cheekbones are, however, not as accentuated as on the Detroit bust, and the Adam's apple is more protruding on MM 1980:4. Also, on the Detroit bust, two veins are visible on the left temple. Together with these naturalistic renderings appear traits of a more stylized character. Firstly, the pattern-like rendering of wrinkles on the forehead, at the corners of the eyes, and on the necks on both portraits seems inconsistent with the sagging flesh of the cheeks. Furthermore, the eyes of both portraits are rendered in a perfect oval shape with marked upper and

Digitized by Google

lower eyelids. The eyes of MM 1980:4 are, however, proportionally larger and not as deep-set as those of the Detroit bust.

According to Vermeule, the Detroit bust may be a retrospective portrait of an original of *c.* 40 B.C.

The chronology of Late Republican portraiture is complicated. The fact that "Republicans" were also made in Early Imperial times has led to a lot of controversy. Schweitzer has stated that Republican portraits (portraits with the "Zeitgesicht" of the Republic) with a style later than the Republican are to be seen as later Imperial copies of Republican portraits. Thus, stylized wrinkles in an otherwise plastically rendered face, according to Schweitzer, indicate how original traits were retained by Imperial copyists.[8]

However, stylized wrinkles in an otherwise plastically rendered face may not be inconsistent with the actual appearance of Late Republican portraits. This mixture of stylized and plastic traits can be seen on portraits dated to Republican or Early Imperial times.[9]

Elaine Gazda, on the other hand, has expressed doubts about the authenticity of the Detroit head, especially on account of the mixing of the organic rendering of flesh and bone and the unorganic wrinkles.[10] She also expresses doubt concerning the pensive and inward-looking, facial expression of the Detroit bust, a contrast to the more extrovert expression on the majority of Republican portraits.

The somewhat complicated dating of the Detroit bust, a close parallel in style to MM 1980:4, gives cause for further investigation of the authenticity of the bust in Stockholm.

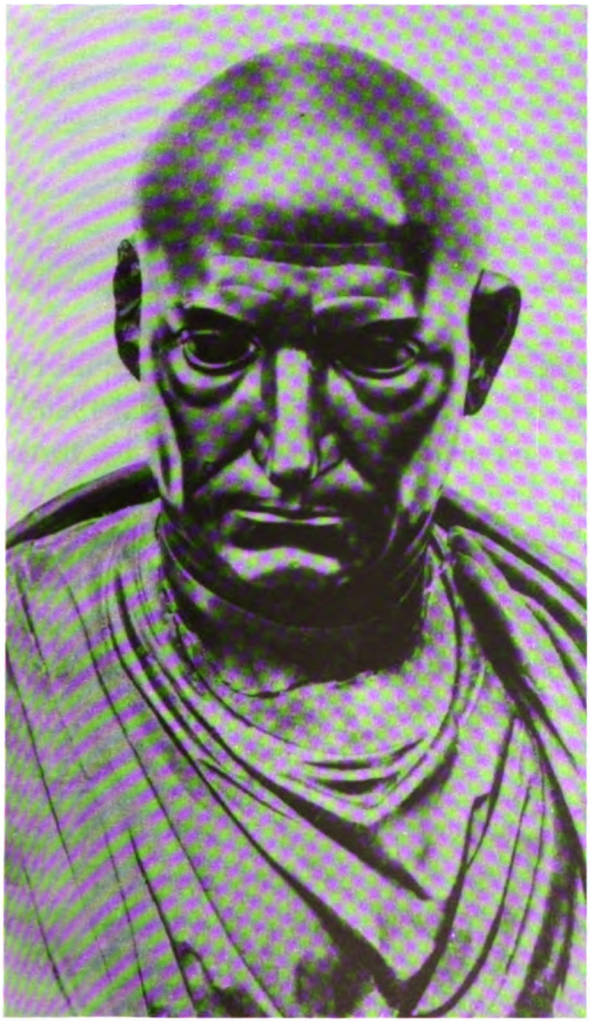
Another portrait which MM 1980:4 resembles is the so-called Rospigliosi head (*Figs. 8–9*), a head in dark-green basalt formerly in the Rospigliosi Palace in Rome, now lost (life-size, nose restored).[11] The portrait was mentioned by J.J. Winckelmann as "la più bella, e la più celebre" of the portraits of Scipio Africanus.[12] This was the common identification in the 17th to 19th centuries of bald or clean-shaven men with scars on the

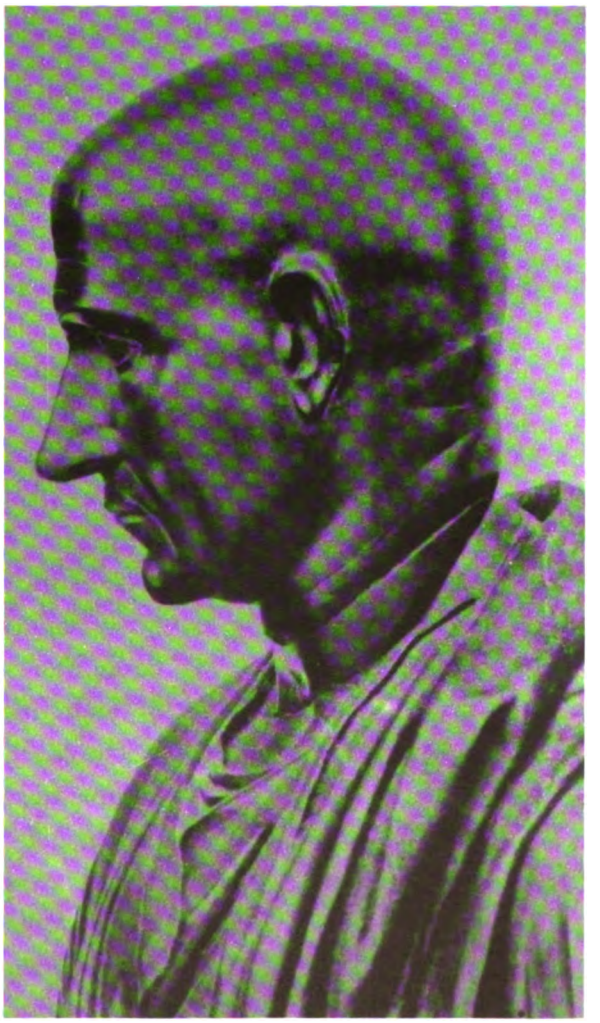
Digitized by Google

forehead. This series of portraits was later identified as depicting priests of the cult of Isis.[13]

The two portraits resemble one another closely in the sharply defined, square faces, the oval eyes with marked upper and lower eyelids and the furrows from the wings of the nose.

MM 1980:4 is, however, much more naturalistically sculpted. The two portraits also share the same stern expression around the mouth and the small but accentuated chin, which is separated from the rest of the face by a marked line under the lower lip. A characteristic feature that MM 1980:4 does not share, however, is a cross-shaped scar on the right side of the head. Also, the shape of the skull is different: on MM 1980:4, it is





Figs. 8–9. The Rospigliosi head. From J.J. Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie. I. Die Bildnisse berühmter Römer, Stuttgart 1882, pl. II.

Digitized by Google

long and curves smoothly down to the neck, whereas the skull of the Rospigliosi head slopes vertically downwards to meet the calloused neck.

Recently, Karina Türr has doubted the authenticity of the Rospigliosi head, suggesting that it may be a work of the Renaissance.[14] Eberhard Paul, however, considers it to be a Republican portrait that has served as a model for modern forgeries.[15] Klaus Fittschen dates the Rospigliosi head on stylistic grounds to the time of Julius Caesar or Augustus.[16]

L. de Lachanal dates the head to around 40 B.C., seeing it as influenced by Late Hellenistic portraiture in Egypt.[17] I do not see any reason to consider the Rospigliosi head modern, and agree with a date in Late Republican or Early Augustan times.

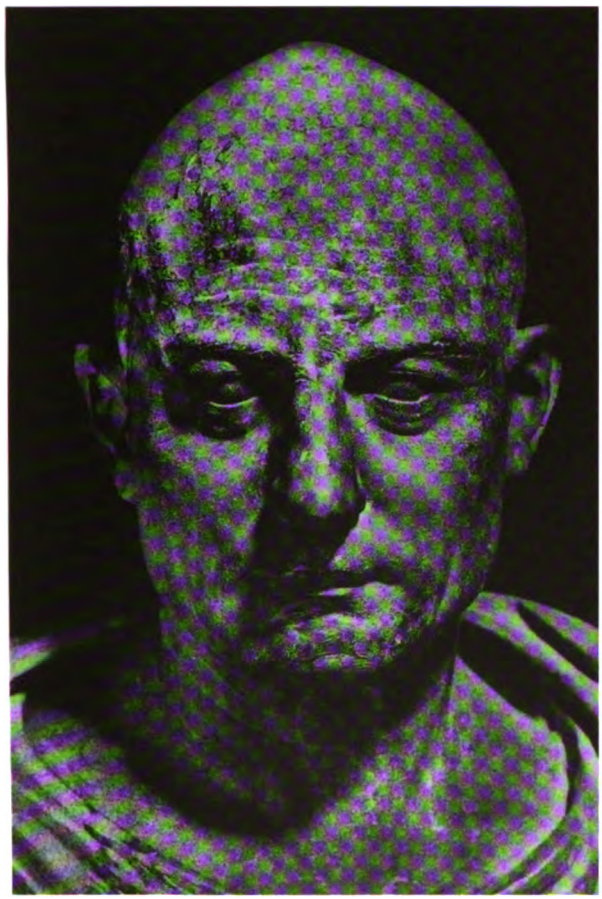
Another portrait that is interesting to compare with the present one is a head on a bust not belonging to it in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Inv. 1914 (parts of nose and chin restored, height of the head 32 cm)(*Figs. 10–11*).[18] The Uffizi head has no scar but has earlier been associated with the "Scipio Africanus" series, owing to its similarity to the Rospigliosi head.[19]

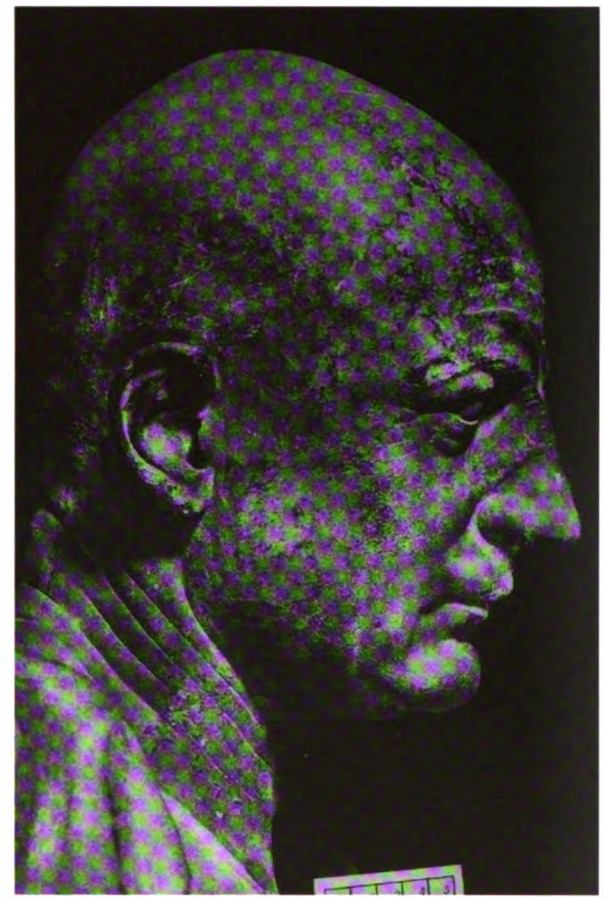
MM 1980:4 and the Uffizi head share the square faces, the big noses and the furrows from the wings of the nose. MM 1980:4, however, has larger and more stylized eyes, as well as a flatter crown of the head. The Uffizi head resembles even more the Rospigliosi head, especially in the shape of the crown and the back of the head. However, the Uffizi head is more naturalistically sculpted than the Rospigliosi head, with its softly modelled flesh on the cheeks and chin, and the small, tired eyes. The ears of the Uffizi head are also different (round and set lower).

Schweitzer considered the portrait to be a Claudian copy of an original from Late Republican times.[20] Mansuelli in his publication of this "testa di ignoto" does not believe in a Late Republican date, agreeing with the opinion of Schweitzer.[21]

In my opinion, the resemblance between the Uffizi, Inv. 1914 and the Rospigliosi head may call for a discussion on the authenticity of the Uffizi head, since it is known that the Rospigliosi

Digitized by Google





Figs. 10–11. Uffizi Gallery, Florenz, Inv. 1914. From H. Brunn, P. Arndt & F. Bruckmann, Griechische und römische Porträts 21, Munich 1894, nos. 202–203.

head served as a source of inspiration for modern forgeries and/or pastiches (see further below).

As already mentioned, there is a series of Roman portraits of bald or clean-shaven men that bear scars on their foreheads. The scar is located on either the right or the left side of the forehead, and sometimes right in front. It is shaped like an *X* or a *T*.

The number of portraits considered genuine is just over 40,[22] and just over 30 forgeries[23] have been identified to this date; they were probably made in the 18th and 19th centuries to supply the market with portraits of Scipio Africanus.

In 1905, these portraits were identified as those of priests of Isis by Walter Dennison.[24] Already Schweitzer, though, questioned whether the identification was not too narrow.[25] A further survey of the portraits would no doubt be needed.[26] A great difficulty here is the large number of false portraits.

Digitized by Google

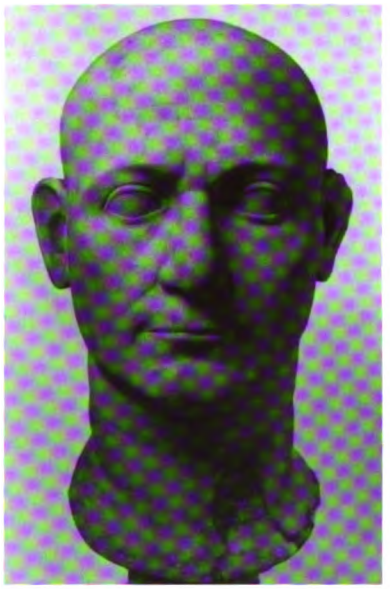


Fig. 12. Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. AS I 136. Courtesy Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum.

A number of these false portraits and/or pastiches[27] of Scipio Africanus seem to have been made with the so-called Rospigliosi head as a model.[28] Of portraits today believed to be forgeries inspired by the Rospigliosi head, there is, firstly, the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. AS I 136 (height 39.1 cm) (*Fig. 12*).[29] Karina Türr considers the Rospigliosi head to have been a model for this portrait, a classicizing work, related to the Hermitage no. 255 (below). The Kunsthistorisches Museum also considers the piece to be non-antique.[30]

The basic traits of this bust remain the same as those of the Rospigliosi head, but they have been much smoothed. The eyebrows are rounded instead of straight, and the furrows and the bags under the eyes are reduced to a minimum. The scar is present on the right side.

Also, the composed and stern expression of the Rospigliosi head has been changed into a more vacant look.

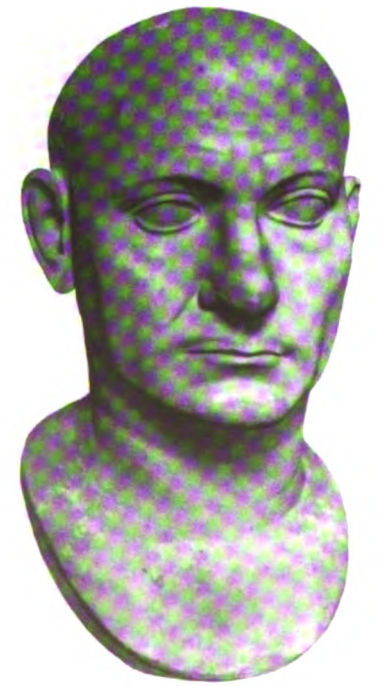


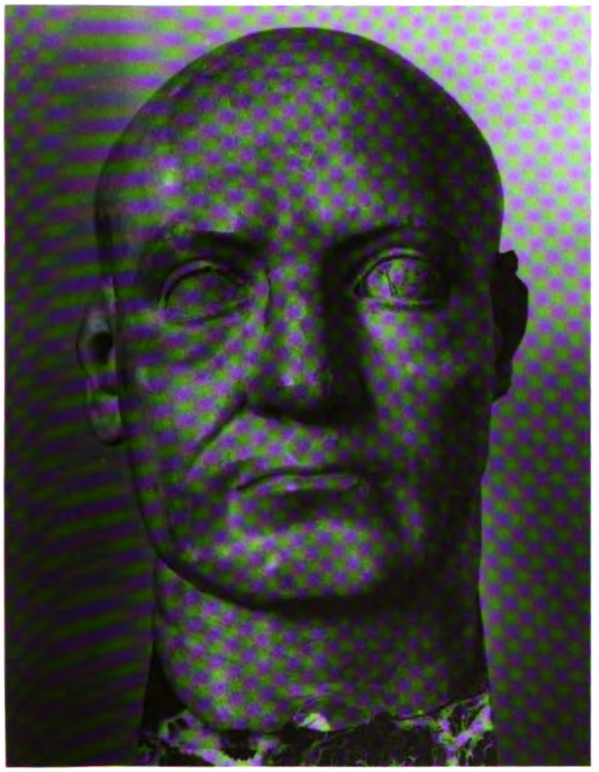
Fig. 13. St. Petersburg Hermitage, K 255. From E. Paul, Gefälschte Antike von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart, Vienna & Munich 1982, K 255, fig. 78.

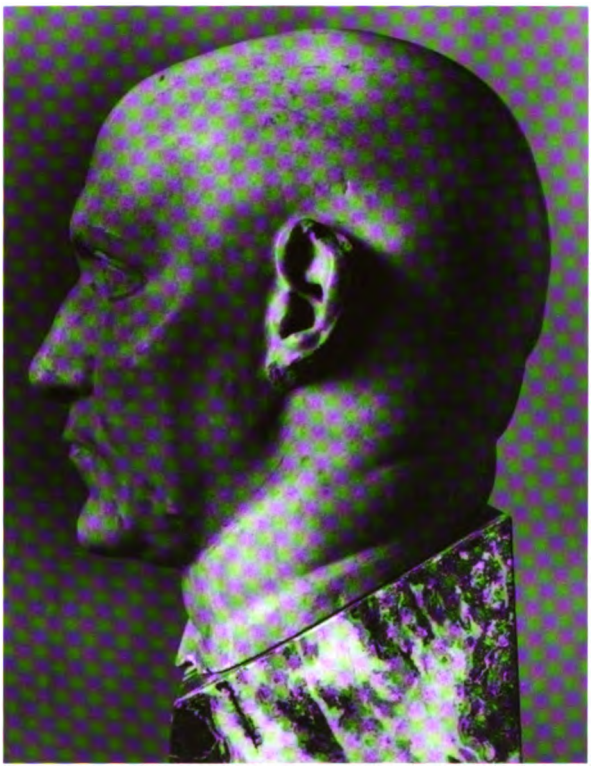
There is a second pastiche of the Rospigliosi head in the St. Petersburg Hermitage, K 255 (*Fig. 13*).[31] Eberhard Paul has seen the Rospigliosi head as the model for this bust, which is, in his opinion, a forgery dating from the beginning of the 19th century.[32] The overall characteristics of the St. Petersburg bust are those of the Rospigliosi head, but the sharp traits have been evened out: the furrows from the wings of the nose are just noticeable on the St. Petersburg bust, and the bags under the eyes are only suggested. The firm expression of the Rospigliosi head has also disappeared, leaving an expressionless face.

There is a somewhat different pastiche in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. 16.152 (height 31.8 cm) (*Figs. 14–15*).[33] Gisela Richter and Eberhard Paul, among others, have considered this head to be a modern piece of work. Türr agrees and sees the Rospigliosi head as the model. She dates it to the beginning of the 20th century, owing to its cubical shape.

That the Rospigliosi head has been the model is not as obvious here as in the two preceding cases. Its influence on this very square face can be seen in some general features: furrows from the wings of the nose, bags under the eyes, wrinkles at the root of

Digitized by Google





Figs. 14–15. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. 16.152. Gift of Walter Roselle, 1916. Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the nose and the thin lips that are tightly pressed together, giving a firm expression around the mouth. The profile resembles very much to that of the Rospigliosi head, with the vertically sloping skull and the calloused neck.

A scar is present on the right side of the forehead.

To further attest the popularity of the Rospigliosi head as a model for pastiches, there is also a bronze cast of the face added to a back side in stone, now in the Wallmoden Collection, but until 1792 in the Palazzo Spada, Rome (height 56 cm) (*Figs. 16–17*).[34] Here, the sharp lines of the Rospigliosi head have been smoothed and the stern expression diminished. Also, hairs have been added to the superciliary arches and the ears are somewhat smaller.

All of these resemble MM 1980:4 in some general traits: the square faces, oval eyes, thin lips tightly pressed together, and furrows from the wings of the nose, traits that recollect the stern and composed expression of the Rospigliosi head. However, the

Digitized by Google

Figs. 16–17. Bronze bust, Sammlung Wallmoden. Longterm deposition from S.K.H. Ernst August Prinz zu Hannover, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Courtesy Sammlung Wallmoden.

closest parallel to MM 1980:4 appears to be the Rospigliosi head itself, the common source of inspiration for all of the above-mentioned modern pieces.

I suggest that also the Uffizi portrait (above, *Figs. 10–11*) may be considered a modern pastiche, owing to its likeness to the famous Rospigliosi head.

Discussion

There are four different aspects that can be considered concerning the authenticity of MM 1980:4.

Firstly, as concerns the shape of the bust and its back (the tenon), there is nothing to contradict a dating to ancient times. However, there are also forgeries of this type of bust in existence, so this is not a conclusive argument for the bust's authenticity.[35]

Digitized by Google

Secondly, the type of corrosion visible on MM 1980:4 is somewhat unusual. The corrosion in some areas takes the form of small "holes" covering the surface. Some of the "holes" described, especially on the forehead, may have been made by a tool, since the surface around the holes is not affected in this way, and since the damage is limited to one area.

There are, as mentioned, no root-marks, a feature that is considered to be a sure sign of authenticity.

Similar surface corrosion to that of MM 1980:4 has been observed on other sculptures by, among others, B. Ashmole and R. Wünsche.[36] B. Ashmole declared in a published lecture that a well-known portrait of Julius Caesar in the British Museum (Inv. 1870) was a forgery dating from around the year 1800. One of his arguments was that the surface has a series of small holes, a form of corrosion which cannot be explained by normal weathering. Also, deeper areas of the sculpture (e.g. by the temples between the locks of hair) were undamaged. Ashmole believes that this artificial corrosion was made by a "nail-brush" or an instrument of that sort.

Wünsche examines in his article, among other things, a head from Florence, and a head and a relief from a sarcophagus in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.[37] He describes how the marble surface must have been worked by a pointed chisel and how the fresh cuts were then treated chemically. He describes this particular corrosion as typical of the 18th and the 19th centuries. Wünsche, however, takes into account the possibility that antique sculpture could have been provided with this type of hacked surface in modern times, so as to give a more ancient look.

The similarity between the corrosion described by Ashmole and Wünsche to that on MM 1980:4 led me to write to Paul Zanker in 1994, who had seen the portrait briefly during a visit to the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in 1981.[38] After looking at photographs (which he also showed to Wünsche), he reconsidered his original opinion of a date in Republican times and wrote that the bust was probably of the 18th century.

The surface treatment consequently indicates that MM 1980:4

Digitized by Google

might be a modern creation or is evidence that the bust was mechanically corroded in modern times to give it a more antique appearance.

Thirdly, a stylistic analysis of MM 1980:4 can neither confirm nor refute an ancient formation of the bust, though the mixture of stylized and naturalistic traits does raise the question of authenticity.

Finally, the resemblance to the Rospigliosi head, on the other hand, gives reason to doubt the authenticity of MM 1980:4. There exists a series of portraits that used to be identified as those of Scipio Africanus and since 1905 have gone under the name of priests of Isis. It is well known that within this series there are a lot of forgeries, which were made when it was still believed that the portraits represented Scipio Africanus. The so-called Rospigliosi head, which MM 1980:4 resembles, was the best-known of these portraits of Scipio Africanus, attested by Winckelmann. As shown above, there also exist modern forgeries and/or pastiches made in the likeness of the Rospigliosi head.

Considering these instances, I suggest that a modern sculptor, in the late 18th or the 19th century, drew inspiration from the Rospigliosi head in producing MM 1980:4. A modern formation is also supported by the unusual corrosion.

Hedvig von Ehrenheim
University of Stockholm
Department of Ancient Culture and Society
SE-106 91 Stockholm

Acknowledgements

For valuable help with the manuscript, I would like to thank the Stockholm University Seminar in Ancient Culture and Society, especially Charlotte Scheffer and Johan Flemberg, and Karen Slej, of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.

The abbreviations in my text follow those recommended in *AJA* 95, 1991, 1–16.

Digitized by Google

[1] For a first mention of the bust, see C.-G. Styrenius, 'Activities 1979–1980', *MedMusB* 15, 1980, 98f., esp. 98 ("marble head from the Republican period"). The bust has not previously been published, although it was the subject of a graduate examination paper (unpublished) by Birgitta Johanson, "Ett mansporträtt i marmor på Medelhavsmuseet (MM 1980:4)", Stockholm University, Department of Ancient Culture and Society, 1985. Johanson is of the opinion that MM 1980:4 is a Roman portrait from the Late Republican or Early Augustan period. This conclusion is based mainly on comparison with the head in the Detroit Institute of Art, Inv. 27.211 (C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman sculpture in America*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1981, 275, no. 232; see also *Figs. 6–7* in this text).

[2] Letter from F. von Scherling to C.-G. Styrenius, former director of the Medelhavsmuseet (Archive of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, MM 74/Dia 385 (19/2 1974); letter of thanks from C.-G. Styrenius to Eva von Scherling, after the death of the wife of Folkard von Scherling.

[3] The tenon measurements are: breadth 3.3 cm, depth 3.9 cm, height from the front edge of the bust 0.5 cm; at its highest point 4.1 cm.

[4] S. Angiolillo, 'Due ritratti al Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Cagliari', *RM* 78, 1971, 119–124, esp. 122–124, pls. 72–73; Rome, Musei Capitolini, Stanza degli Imperatori 3, Inv. 283 (K. Fittschen & P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom.* I. *Kaiser- und Prinzenbildnisse*, Mainz am Rhein 1985, 10–12, no. 10, pls. 11–12); Rome, Musei Capitolini, Stanza del Gladiatore 6, Inv. 745 (Fittschen & Zanker, op.cit., 19-21, no. 19 (pls. 19, 21 and 22); Rome, Musei Capitolini, Stanza terrena a destra I4, Inv. 355 (Fittschen & Zanker, op.cit., 27–29, no. 22 (pls. 21, 22 and 24); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 1934 (F. Johansen, *Roman Portraits* I. *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Catalogue*, Copenhagen 1994, 30f., no. 4; V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* I. *République et Dynastie julienne*, Copenhagen 1962, 44, no. 4, pls. 8–9); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 1200 (Johansen, op.cit., 76f., no. 26; Poulsen, op.cit., 58, no. 25, pl. 38), Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 749 (Poulsen, op.cit., 106–108, no. 67, pls. 113–114), Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 736 (Poulsen, op.cit., 107f., no. 68, pls. 115–117).

[5] H.R. Goette, 'Das Bildnis des Marcus Vilonius Varro in Kopenhagen. Zu den Basen von Portraitbüsten und zum Realismus flavisch-traianischer Bildnisse', *Boreas* 7, 1984, 89–104, esp. 91. For examples, see Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 1200 (Johansen (supra n. 4), 76f., no. 26, Poulsen (supra n. 4), 58, no. 25, pl. 38; Angiolillo (supra n. 4), pls. 72–73; F. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman portraits in English Country Houses*, Oxford 1923, text to p. 53, fig. 33 (Bardo Museum, Tunis). The inner support could also during this period be broad and take up a large part of the underside (Goette, op.cit., 91; see also an example in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 743 (Poulsen (supra n. 4), 77f., no. 42, pls. 70–71)).

[6] For examples of miniature portraits of private persons in Republican and Julio-Claudian times, see e.g. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 555 (height of head 19 cm), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* I.9. *Magazzini. I ritratti*, parte 1, ed. A. Giuliano, Rome 1987, 111f., R75; Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano (height 19 cm, terracotta), O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik* (ActaRom-4°, 8), Leipzig & Lund 1941, 223, 277, pl. 63.1. For forgeries of Republican heads in miniature size, see Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 730, 1767 (Poulsen (supra n. 4), 146, no. 134 ["Scipio Africanus"], pl. 104; 147, no. 135, pl. 104).

[7] Vermeule (supra n. 1), 275, no. 232. See also *idem*, 'Greek and Roman portraits in North American collections open to the public', *ProcPhilSoc* 108, 1964, 99–134, esp. 104, for a first mention of the portrait.

[8] B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*, Leipzig 1947, 47, 51.

Digitized by Google

[9] See e.g. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Inv. 1612 (Helbig⁴, 264, no. 346 [H. von Heintze]; P. Zanker, 'Zur Rezeption des hellenistischen Individualporträts in Rom und in den italischen Städten', in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien. Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974* [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3. Folge, 97/II], ed. P. Zanker, Göttingen 1976, 581–619, esp. 612, no. 5); Chieti, Museo Nazionale, Inv. 4430 (Zanker, op.cit., 619, no. 19); London, British Museum, Inv. Sc 2275 (V. Kockel, *Porträtreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten*, Mainz am Rhein 1993, 178f., no. L4, pls. 90b, 93d).

[10] Letter to the author, 14 September 1998.

[11] *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* I.6. *I marmi Ludovisi dispersi*, ed. A. Giuliano, Rome 1986, 112–116 (L. de Lachenal).

[12] J.J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Rome 1767, 231 (repr. *idem*, *Kunsttheoretische Schriften* VII. *Monumenti antichi inediti* (Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 345), Baden-Baden & Strassburg 1967). Other early documentation of the Rospigliosi head: Aldrovandi, *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma si veggono*, in L. Mauro, *Le antichità della città di Roma*, Venice 1556, 134 (reference from *Museo Nazionale Romano* I.6 (supra n. 11), 116); J.J. Boissard, *Romanae urbis topographiae* 1, Frankfurt 1597–1602, 10; Ioannis Faber, *Imagines illustrium ex Fulvii Ursini Bibliotheca*, Antwerpen 1606, 28f.; J.J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*. I. *Die Bildnisse berühmter Römer*, Stuttgart 1882, 36–38, no. 2, pl. 2. The bust was also used as a model for engravings, e.g. by Gerolamo Francino in *c.* 1587 (see *Museo Nazionale Romano* I.6 (supra n. 11), 112).

Aldrovandi was the first to mention the identification as Scipio Africanus (supra). Visconti, at the beginning of the 19th century, gathered the arguments in favour of an identification of bald male portraits with a cross-shaped scar as those of Scipio Africanus (E.Q. Visconti, *Iconographie romaine* I, Paris 1817, 41-55). The main reason given for this identification was that Scipio had been wounded in the battle of Ticinium (218 B.C.), which would explain the scars on the foreheads. A further argument was that the Rospigliosi head was found outside Liternum, which was known from ancient sources as the retreat of Scipio.

[13] W. Dennison, 'A new head of the so-called Scipio type: an attempt at its identification', *AJA* 9, 1905, 11–43. This is still the prevalent identification; see e.g. *Museo Nazionale Romano* I.9 (supra n. 6), 86, and *Iside. Il mito. Il mistero. La magia. Palazzo Reale*, Milano, 22/2–1/6 1997, eds. E.A. Arslan et al., Milan 1997, 169f., 418–420. For other identifications, see note 24.

[14] K. Türr, *Fälschungen antiker Plastik seit 1800*, Berlin 1984, 176. Also A. Adriani, in an article on the influence of Late Egyptian portraiture on Roman Republican portraiture, doubts the authenticity of the Rospigliosi head (A. Adriani, 'Ritratti dell'Egitto greco-romano', *RM* 77, 1970, 72–109, esp. 106, n. 151).

[15] E. Paul, *Gefälschte Antike von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart*, Vienna & Munich 1982, 107, fig. 77.

[16] *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Wallmoden. Ausstellung zum Gedenken an Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812)*, Göttingen 1979, 67.

[17] *Museo Nazionale Romano* I.6 (supra n. 11), 112; Vessberg (supra n. 6), 230f. Today most researchers see the connection between Late Egyptian and Roman Republican portraiture as an influence of the Egyptian on the Roman (see Adriani (supra n. 14), 98–100). Among these researchers is B.V. Bothmer. He is of the opinion that knowledge of Ptolemaic prototypes for Roman Republican portraiture was transmitted to Rome by the introduction of the cult of Isis (see *Egyptian sculpture of the Late period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*, Exhibition catalogue, The Brooklyn Museum, ed. B.V. Bothmer, New York 1960, 133, 166). This is an opinion already put forward by Carlo Anti ('Il problema dell'arte italica', *StEtr* 4, 1930, 151–171, esp. 165). Adriani (supra n. 14, 99–101) points out that Roman Republican portraiture arose out of many different traditions, Italian as well as

Digitized by Google

Hellenistic, and among the Hellenistic traditions there were both the Graeco-Alexandrian and the Graeco-Egyptian. He agrees with Bothmer on the vital importance of the presence of priests of Isis in Italy for the influence of the Late Egyptian portraiture (op.cit., 101, 106).

[18] G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le sculture*. 2. Rome 1961, 48f., no. 35.

[19] H. Brunn, P. Arndt & F. Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts* 21, Munich 1894, nos. 202-203.

[20] Schweitzer (supra n. 8), 44.

[21] Mansuelli (supra n. 18), 48f., no. 35.

[22] The most complete lists are in Bernoulli (supra n. 12), 36–44, in Dennison (supra n. 13), 12–17, and in K. Fittschen, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach*, Berlin 1977, 68, n. 4. A lot of the portraits have not been studied since the days of Bernoulli, and a new survey would no doubt be welcome. A number of those considered to be genuine are no doubt fakes.

To these three lists of genuine portraits may be added: Torcello, Palazzo dell'Archivio, Inv. 99 (F. Ghedini & G. Rosada, *Sculture greche e romane del Museo provinciale di Torcello*, Rome 1982, 131-133, no. 47); Gubbio (H.P. L'Orange, 'Un ritratto della tarda antichità nel Palazzo dei Consoli di Gubbio', in *Richerche sull'Umbria tardo-antica e preromanica. Atti del II convegno di studi umbri. Gubbio. 24–28 maggio 1964*, Perugia 1965, 137-150, pls. 25–30. See also the discussion on the date in S. Sande, 'Zur Porträtplastik des sechsten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts', *ActaAArtHist* 4, Rome 1975, 65–106, esp. 79, n. 2); Oslo, Private collection (S. Sande, *Greek and Roman portraits in Norwegian collections* [ActaAArtHist, 10], Rome 1991, 87f., no. 72, pl. 71).

Serena Ensoli has recently argued that three other busts of bald men with laurels, in *rosso antico*, earlier considered to be of doubtful authenticity (by e.g. G. Traversari, *Museo Archeologico di Venezia. I ritratti*, Rome 1968, 105f., no. 91) come from the Villa Adriana and depict Antinous in the costume of the priests of Isis (tenons point to the fastening of the typical garment just below the breast, see *Iside* (supra n. 13), 418–420). They must hence be associated with the list of priests of Isis: Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Scalone, III ripiano, no. 9, Inv. 1214 (F. Hauser 'The heads of the "Scipio" type', *AJA* 12, 1908, 56f., esp. 56; *Iside* (supra n. 13), 418–420); Venice, Museo Archeologico, Inv. 117 (Hauser, op.cit., 56; Traversari, op.cit., 105, no. 91; Iside (supra n. 13), 418f.; *Lo statuario pubblico della serenissima. Due secoli di collezionismo di antichità 1596–1797*, eds. I. Favaretto & G.L. Ravagnan, Venice 1997, 146, no. 9); Paris, Louvre, Inv. MR 23, Cat. no. MA 1358 (P. Bouillon, *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale suivi de la description des autres monuments dans le cabinet des médailles et antiques*, Paris 1858, 2, no. 10; Hauser, op.cit., 56; *Iside* (supra n. 13), 418–420).

A number of portraits that have the shaven heads, but not the scars, have earlier been associated with the series, e.g. the Florence, Uffizi, Inv. 1914 (Brunn, Arndt & Bruckmann (supra n. 19), nos. 202–203; Mansuelli (supra n. 18), 48f., no. 35).

The portraits in the series are somewhat difficult to date, owing to the lack of hair and beards. They date from Republican times (the introduction of the cult of Isis at the end of the second century B.C. (see e.g. Adriani (supra n. 14), 106) to the Tetrarchic period (Sande 1991, op.cit., 87, n. 6).

Klaus Fittschen, however, states that the portraits were made until the second century (*Die Skulpturen* (supra n. 16, 67). H. von Heintze claims that they are not earlier than Flavian times ('Studien zu den Porträts des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.', *RM* 64, 1957, 69–91, esp. 84, n. 122).

[23] Cf. the lists of Bernoulli (supra n. 12), 36–44, Dennison (supra n. 13), 17, n. 1 (15 instances), and Fittschen (supra n. 22), 68, n. 4.

The following replicas may be added to the list of portraits of doubtful authenticity (a list, which no doubt could be made much longer): Paris, Louvre, Ma

Digitized by Google

2197, Inv. MR 646 (K. de Kerauson, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des portraits romains.* I. *Portraits de la République et d'époque Julio-Claudienne*, Paris 1986, 225, no. 106); Dresden, Albertinum, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. Mengs 690 (Türr (supra n. 14), 174). Plastercast of the Rospigliosi head, according to Türr, which does not prove to be true upon looking at the museum's photograph. The cast resembles more the Oberlin, Allen Memorial Art Museum (Vermeule (supra n. 1), 303, no. 259), and the Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 129; Basel, private ownership (Türr (supra n. 14), 174); St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Inv. K 285, B 182 (*Musée de l'Ermitage. Le portrait romain*, ed. A. Vostchinina, Leningrad 1974, 207, n. 1); Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 1578, not published. In the collections since 1940 (letter to the author from Dr. Manuela Lauenberger, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 2 February 1998); New York, Metropolitan Museum, Inv. 16.152 (G.M.A. Richter, 'A new classical study room', *BMMA* 24, 1929, 141–146, esp. 145; *eadem*, *Handbook of the Classical collection*, New York 1930, 343; Türr (supra n. 14), 174); Stockholm, National Museum, NM Sk 74 (*Nationalmusei konstsamlingar. Förteckning öfver skulpturarbeten*, Stockholm 1907, 9, no. 74); Bargello, Florence, Inv. 125 and 137 (M. Cristofani, 'Per una storia del collezionismo archeologico nella Toscana granducale. I. I grandi bronzi', *Prospettiva* 17, 1979, 4–15, esp. 9f., figs. 14–15; *Museo Nazionale Romano* I.6 (supra n. 11), 114)

Without scars, formerly attached to the portraits of Scipio Africanus, but considered to be forgeries by Poulsen, are two portraits in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 1577 (Poulsen (supra n. 4), 145, no. 132, pl. 203; Johansen (supra n. 4), 302, no. 134); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 730 (Poulsen (supra n. 4), 146, no. 134, pl. 104; Johansen (supra n. 4), 306, no. 136). Johansen, however, considers them now to be genuine.

The Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. nos. I 128 and I 129 (nos. 32 and 33 in Fittschen (supra n. 22), 68, n. 4) should moreover be placed among the non-antique replicas (letter to the author from Dr. Manuela Lauenberger, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 2 February 1998).

In my opinion, also the Rome head (private owner, DAI Negs. 69.3269, 3270) (Fittschen (supra n. 22), 68, n. 4, no. 30) may be considered to be modern on the basis of the schematic traits and the resemblance to the Rospigliosi head (see further below).

[24] Dennison's main arguments in support of his identification were, firstly, that, according to ancient writers, the priests of Isis shaved their heads (and even superciliary arches) (see Plut. *Is. et Os.*, 3–4; Apul. *Met.* 11.10, 28, 30; Juv. 6.533; Mart. 12.29.19; Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* II, in *PL* 12, 985; SHA. *Vita Pescenni Nigeris*, 6; Min.Fel. *Oct.* 23.1; Prud. *c.Symm.* 1.630; Ambros. *Ep.* 28(58). On this, see also M. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, Leiden 1972, 137, n. 2, and L. Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern. Epigraphische Studien zur Verbreitung und zu den Trägern des ägyptischen Kultes* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 29), Berlin 1970, 52.

Secondly, to explain the scars, he refers to a passage in Tertullian, who writes "et, si adhuc memini, [Mithra] signat illic in frontibus milites suos" (Tert.*Praes. Her.* 40, ed. A. Kroymann, (CSEL, 70), Wien & Leipzig 1942, p. 51). Dennison believes this to be a mix-up, in which the cult of Isis was meant instead of that of Mithras (Dennison (supra n. 13), 38). Scars on portraits of clean-shaven men with the typical garment of priests of Isis have since been attested, first on a bust in the München Glyptothek (F. Hauser, 'The heads of the "Scipio" type', *AJA* 12, 1908, 56f.; P. Wolters, *MüJb* 4, 1909, 201f.; *idem*, *AA* 25, 1910, 470f.). K. Fittschen (supra n. 22), 67, n. 7, writes that there seems to be a scar on a bronze

Digitized by Google

statuette in the Louvre, Inv. Br 4165 (J. Charnonneaux, 'Prêtres égyptiens', in *Mélanges d'archéo- logie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol*, ed. R. Chevallier, Paris 1966, 407–420, figs. 1–2; F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* 1, Leiden 1973, pl. 45). According to S. Descamps, Conservateur en chef, the Louvre, however, there is no scar visible on Br 4165 (letter to the author, 4 November 1998).

The dilemma that no portraits of Egyptian priests with their heads shaven bear the *X*- or *T*-scar Dennison met by assuming that the cult was modified in Italy (Dennison (supra n. 13), 42). This is also the opinion of Adriani (supra n. 14), 106.

Helga von Heintze mentions the fact that the cross-sign, in the shape of an *X* or a *T*, is to be found on a number of portraits, not only of shaven men (e.g. on the warrior of the Ludovisi sarcophagus). Heintze believes the cross to be a sign of initiation into the Mithrascult. She proposes that the "priests of Isis" were priests of Mithras (von Heintze (supra n. 22), esp. 84f.)

In a dissertation of 1933 H. Lilliebjörn is of the opinion that portraits with cross-shaped scars may depict priests of Isis or Mithras or any oriental religion in which the sun played a central part (*Über religiöse Signierung in der Antike mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kreuzsignierung*, Diss. Uppsala 1933, 68f.).

The opinion of scholars who have studied the cult of Mithras is that a marking of the Milites on their brows can indeed be assigned to this cult (L.A. Campbell, *Mithraic iconography and ideology* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, 11), Leiden 1968, 308; R. Gordon, 'Franz Cumont and the doctrines of Mithraism', in *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies*, 1, ed. J.R. Hinnells, Manchester 1975, 215–248, esp. 234f.; R. Beck, 'Mithraism since Franz Cumont', ANRW II.17.4, 2002–2115, esp. 2055).

Tertullian seems to deviate from his general statements, in making a concrete example, "et, si adhuc memini". Five of the MSS have "Mithrae" and one "Mithra". Kroymann (op.cit.) wants to exclude "Mithra" altogether from the text as a later addendum. The words "et, si adhuc memini", however, seem to point to a commentary on a more specific cult, and there seems not really to be any good reason why "Mithra" should be excluded. Here I would like to thank Hans Aili for a discussion on this *lectio*.

The signing of the cross that Tertullian mentions taking place in the cult of Mithras, if indeed his expertise in the rituals of these mystery cults can be taken for granted, would perhaps not have to be inflicted wounds or brands. The cult of Isis was, on the other hand, no stranger to inflicted wounds (see Dennison, supra n. 13, 36f. with further references to ancient sources).

For Tertullians use of the word "signare" for making the sign of the cross, see F. Dölger, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens I', *JAC* 1, 1958, 5–19, esp. 13. The using of metaphors from the military sphere is a characteristic of the mystery cults, that of Isis as well as that of Mithras (for designations a cohors and militia for the members of the Isis cult, see Apul. *Met.* 11.14, 15).

See also R.E. Witt, 'Some thoughts on Isis in relation to Mithras', in *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies*, ed. J.R. Hinnells, Manchester 1975, 479–493, esp. 490.

In my opinion, the signing of the cross in one of the cults may not necessarily exclude its use in the other. I would like to thank Jan Bergman for discussing these points with me.

There have been other explanations as to what the scar could be other than a sign of being initiated into the cult of Isis or Mithras. An early interpretation was that the cross on shaven heads was the sign of a slave (J. Six, 'Ikonographische Studien', *RM* 10, 1895, 179–192, esp. 184–188; F. Dölger, *Sphragis. Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung in ihren Beziehungen zur profanen und religiösen Kultur*

Digitized by Google

des Altertums (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, 5), Paderborn 1911, 31).

On the Christian sphragis, see further Ø. Hjort, 'Augustus Christianus – Livia Christiana: *Sphragis* and Roman portrait sculpture', in *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium. Papers read at a colloquium held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 31 May to 5 June 1992*, eds. L. Rydén & J.-O. Rosenquist (Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul Transactions, 4), Uppsala 1993, 99–112.

For an interesting example of a portrait with hair and a scar in the form of an *X*, see the catalogue *De Carthage à Kairouan. 2000 ans d'art et d'histoire en Tunisie*, Paris 1982, 148, no. 206.

[25] Schweitzer (supra n. 8), 58, see also supra n. 24.

[26] If the category is limited to shaven portraits with scars, of antique date, the next step would be to examine the scars more closely and the literary evidence for this occurrence.

[27] A portrait cannot be regarded as a fake, if the intention of the sculptor was not to deceive, a fact not always easily proven. For a discussion, see U. Müller-Kaspar, *Das sogennante Falsche am Echten. Antikenergänzungen im späteren 18. Jahrhundert in Rom*, Diss. Bonn 1988, 128–142.

[28] According to Türr (supra n. 14, 174), there is a copy of the Rospigliosi head, made by the sculptor Schlöth, in a private collection in Basel. She also writes that there is a plastercast of the Rospigliosi head in the Albertinum in Dresden (ibid.). On looking at the museum photograph of the plaster cast Inv. Mengs 690, it is clear that this is not a cast of the Rospigliosi head, although it is clear that it is a cast of a "priest of Isis", see supra n. 23. Fittschen also mentions a plaster cast made in the 17th century of the Rospigliosi head in the Orangerie, Herrenhausen (*Die Skulpturen* (supra n. 16), 66).

Furthermore, there is a portrait of a bald man with an *X*-shaped scar in a private collection in Rome, mentioned by Fittschen (supra n. 22), 68, n. 4, no. 30, DAI negs. 69.3269.3270. On looking at the photographs I find a resemblance to the Rospigliosi head, although with much simplified traits. In my view, the schematic rendering of the head suggests a modern date.

Lachanal in her publication of the Rospigliosi head (*Museo Nazionale Romano* I 6 (supra n. 11), 116) mentions two portraits of uncertain authenticity that she finds to be very similar to the Rospigliosi head: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Inv. 1577 (Poulsen (supra n. 4), 145, no. 132, pl. 203) and Museum of Fine Arts Boston, H.L. Pierce Fund, 99.343 (M.B. Comstock & C.C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in stone: the Greek, Roman and Etruscan collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston 1976, 202, no. 321). In my opinion, these portraits belong to the series of "Scipio Africanus", but their closest likeness within this series is not the Rospigliosi head.

Also, according to Lachanal, two bronze copies of the Rospigliosi head dating from the late 16th century are to be found in Bargello, Florence, Inv. 125 and 137 (M. Cristofani (supra n. 23), 9f., figs. 14–15; *Museo Nazionale Romano* I.6 (supra n. 11), 114). It is difficult to judge when seen from underneath, as on the photographs, but I do not find the resemblance to the Rospigliosi head striking, though it is clear that the portraits belong to the "Scipio Africanus" series.

[29] J. Arneth, *Beschreibung der zum k.k. Münz- und Antikenkabinett gehörigen Statuen, Büsten, Reliefs, Inschriften, Mosaiken*, Vienna 1859², no. 133. Bought by the museum before 1816 or 1830, this bust was doubted already by Bernoulli (supra n. 12), 42f., no. 29. Dennison also considered the piece a forgery (supra n. 13), 17, n. 1, no. 14, and so did Türr (supra n. 14), 176f.

[30] Letter from Dr. Manuela Lauenberger to the author, 2 February 1998.

[31] Bernoulli (supra n. 12), 44, no. 40; Dennison (supra n. 13), 17, n. 1, no. 15; Paul (supra n. 15) 107, fig. 78; Fittschen (supra n. 22), 68, n. 4, no. 16; Türr (supra n. 14), 176.

Digitized by Google

[32] Paul (supra n. 15), 107, nos. 77* and 78. According to Fittschen, the Hermitage K 255 was made after the Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum AS I 128 (Fittschen (supra n. 22), 68, n. 4, no. 16). On account of the round face and small eyes of AS I 128, the Kunsthistorisches Museum AS I 136 would be a better parallel.

[33] Already Richter considered this head to be a forgery (Richter 1929 (supra n. 23), 145, fig. 10; Richter 1930 (supra n. 23), 343). See also E. Paul, *Die falsche Göttin*, Leipzig 1962, 68f. fig. 27, and Türr (supra n. 14), 174. This is still the opinion of the Metropolitan Museum, letter to the author, 17 February 1998, from E.J. Milleker, the Associate Curator of Greek and Roman Art.

[34] Fittschen (supra n. 22), 68, n. 4, no. 10 (then in Hannover); idem, in *Die Skulpturen* (supra n. 16), 66f., no. 25. This cast is mentioned by R.E. Raspe already in 1767 (*Nachricht von der Kunstsammlung des Hrn. General von Walmoden zu Hannover, in Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 4, Leipzig 1767, 227, no. 22). According to Fittschen (*Die Skulpturen*, (supra n. 16), there is yet another cast dating from the 17th century in the Orangerie, Herrenhausen.

[35] For example, Poulsen (supra n. 4), 142f., no. 128, pl. 201: a forgery dating from the 18th century.

[36] B. Ashmole, *Forgeries of ancient sculpture: creation and detection*, Oxford 1962, 5; R. Wünsche, 'Fälschungen und Ergänzungstechniken antiker Plastik', in *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie: Friedrich Hiller zu seinem 60. Geburtstag am 12. März 1986*, eds. K. Braun & A. Furtwängler, Saarbrücken 1986, 187–219, esp. 213 and 215.

[37] Wünsche (supra n. 36), figs. 22, 24, 25–26 and 29–31.

[38] Letter to the author, 22 August 1994.

Digitized by Google

A Julio-Claudian Portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet

OLLE SYLVÉN

While investigating the collection of Roman portraits in the Medelhavsmuseet, I noticed that one of the portraits (MM 1978:15, *Figs. 1–4*) was unpublished and that there was only scanty knowledge about its acquisition and origin. I was puzzled that nobody had written anything about this fine portrait, and decided to publish it with as much information about its background as possible.

Acquisition

The portrait was acquired in Rome by the late King Gustaf VI Adolf, assisted by Dr. Olof Vessberg, the former director of the Medelhavsmuseet.[1] The first mention of it is in a letter dated the 23rd of October 1963 from the artdealer Barsanti, who sold the portrait to Gustaf VI Adolf. The King responded in January 1964, and a formal negotiation about this "Augustan" portrait was initiated. The price demanded for it was rather high, 1,650 U.S.dollars, because it was considered to be of the best quality and in the same fashion as the sculpture of the Ara Pacis or even portraying a prince of the Julio-Claudian family.[2] The portrait was formally acquired in November 1964.

After the acquisition the portrait was deposited for more than two and a half years at the Swedish Institute in Rome before it was sent to Stockholm.[3] There was evidently some problem about the export permit. The Office for the Fine Arts, the Ufficio esportazione di oggetti d'Arte e di Antichità del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, did not want to grant the permit in order to avoid "new scandals in the press". Some problems concerning ancient art were evidently occurring at the time. Professor P. Romanelli suggested that Gustaf VI Adolf should wait

Digitized by Google

Fig. 1. MM 1978:15.

Digitized by Google

Fig. 1–4. MM 1978:15.

Digitized by Google

until things calmed down before an export licence could be acquired. As the political situation changed and since the King had now explicitly stated that the portrait was intended for the Medelhavsmuseet to be displayed to the general public, the permit was finally granted.[4] In the summer of 1967, the portrait was sent from the Institute to Stockholm, where it took part in an exhibition in honour of the King at the Nationalmuseum about antiquities in Swedish collections.[5] After this exhibition the portrait was delivered to the Medelhavsmuseet but it was not given any acquisition number until 1978.

The provenance of the portrait is not known. M. Barsanti claimed that it had once belonged to his uncle, but this brief information cannot be confirmed.[6]

Description

The portrait is of white, fine-crystalline marble and is a little more than life-size; the total height is 28.3 cm. The height from chin to crown is 22.5 cm. The height of the face is 19.2 cm. The total width is 21.0 cm. The total depth is 24.5 cm.[7] The head is slightly turned to the right.[8] The portrait has been cut off at the neck as if to fit onto a full-sized body, and is damaged in several places: the major part of the nose, part of the left eye-brow and top of the left ear are missing. A piece of the left eyebrow has been mended. Furthermore, there is a small, almost circular chip on the lower left cheek, beside the mouth. Part of the lower, left side of the neck has been chipped off. The surface is covered by small hatchings and marks. Part of the coiffure is rather worn. A few root-marks are visible on the left cheek, cheek bone and temple. The fact that the portrait is a little more than life-size would suggest that the portrait was once attached to a body.

The portrait is covered by a uniform yellowish-grey patina. There are no signs of dirt on the surface. The stone is blackened in and on the ears. There is a much lighter patina on the forehead between the bangs on the right side of the head. The head seems to have been mechanically cleaned; there are some parallel scratchings on the right cheek which indicate this (*Fig. 5*). On the neck, on the right side of the face and on the back, there

Digitized by Google

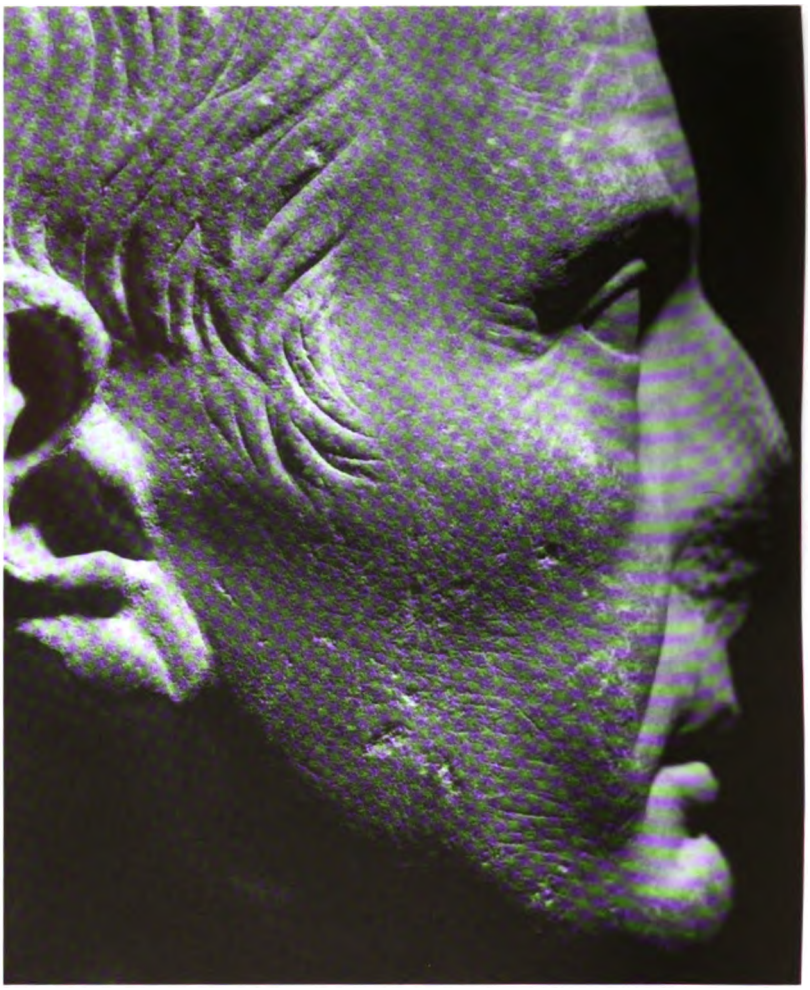


Fig. 5. Detail of MM 1978:15.

are traces of running water (*Figs. 2–3*). Moreover, there are several small patches of black and reddish-brown substance, possibly paint, on the back and the left and right sides of the hair. The surface on the top of the head is rather worn. The quality of the portrait is uneven. In some places it is finely cut, but especially the rendering of the hair is of inferior quality.

The portrait shows a man with an oval-shaped head and with an asymmetrical face. There are vertical folds of the skin on the middle of the throat and two clearly marked, parallel and horizontal lines across. The chin is protruding and has a dimple. The mouth is small with thick, almost swollen and slightly parted lips. The bow on the protruding upper lip is well defined. The nose seems to have been well proportioned and slightly curved.

Digitized by Google

Fig. 6. Detail of MM 1978:15.

Deep, oblique lines descend from the wings of the nose to the plain cheeks. The eyes are rounded, fairly small and closely and deeply set, with heavy, upper eyelids and sharp eyebrows. The lower eyelids are marked only with a thin and sharp line. There is a tendency to bags under the eyes. The eyes are set rather high in the face. Three wrinkles are visible at the corners of the eyes. The temples are hollow. In the middle of the forehead, there is a vertical, shallow groove and two well defined horizontal wrinkles run across the forehead. The ears are big and thick. The left ear is clearly bigger than the right and executed in a different manner. The skin of the face is flabby with clearly marked cheek-bones and hollow cheeks.

The portrait has a high hairline and the coiffure is rendered by wavy, flame-shaped and sharp but thin, elongated and shallow curls, forming a dense mass over the head. The highly set fringe is formed by quite sharply defined and rather long, comma- or flame-shaped locks, contrasting to the much more shallow, flat hair at the top of the head (*Fig.6*). The edge of the fringe is well defined and almost forms a uniform line. On the right side of the fringe the locks are divided, with one of them clearly separated from the others. The sideburns are narrow and pointed and not so deeply cut as the rest of the coiffure. The left one is well

Digitized by Google

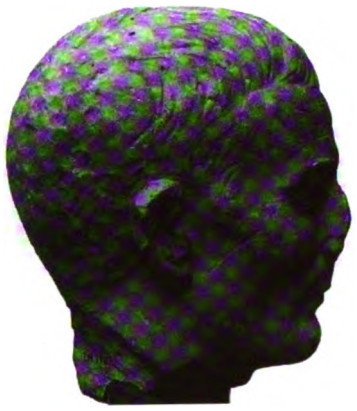


Fig. 7–8. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Inv. 1788. Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

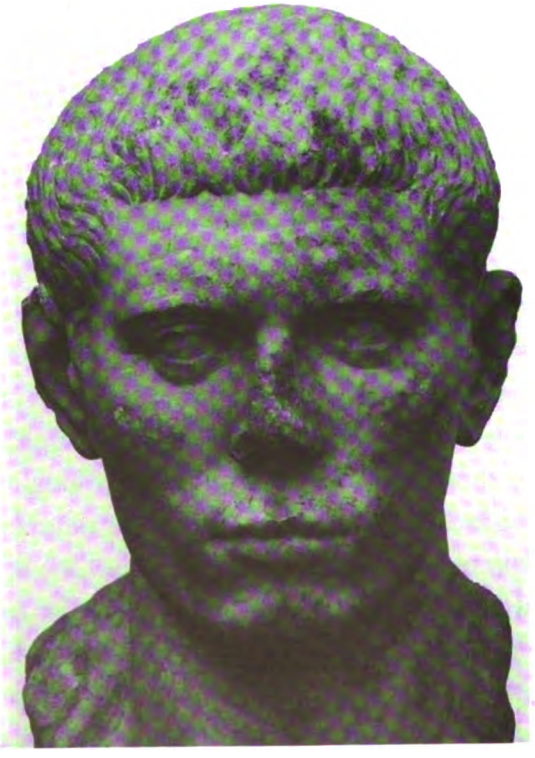


Fig. 9. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Inv. 727. Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

Digitized by Google

executed, whereas the right one is marked only by a few, straggly and shallow lines. Here one can see marks of the chisel.

The hair on the skull also differs in execution as between one side and the other. On the left side, the curls are combed towards the ear falling straight down at the neck. They form no uniform pattern but cover the skull rather randomly. On the right side, the curls behind the ear are combed in an oblique direction and point slightly upwards at the neck. Also on this side the hair is executed rather randomly.

A Julio-Claudian portrait?

Previously this portrait has been dated to the reign of Tiberius, i.e. A.D. 14–37. The overall appearance of the portrait certainly shows the classicism of the Julio-Claudian portraiture. The narrowing chin, the protruding upper lip, the rounded, deep-set eyes, the hollow temples, and the tranquil, candid face are all features that can be found in other portraits of this period.[9] Moreover, the head seems to be slightly turned to the left. This may indicate the element of pathos which is a common feature of Julio-Claudian portraiture and is further stressed by the half-opened mouth.[10] This is, however, not absolutely certain, because of the way in which the head has been cut off. It is therefore difficult to determine exactly how much the head is turned.

There are, however, a few iconographical details that disturb this picture. The portrait has clear indications of ageing, i.e. wrinkles around the eyes and well-defined folds of skin between mouth and cheeks. The throat has clearly marked wrinkles and hanging skin around the Adam's apple. The skin is flabby with folds of hanging skin. These are not typical features in the portraits of the Augustan age, in which the image of "eternal youth" prevails.[11] Rather they are distinctive features of Republican portraiture.[12]

The rendering of the hair with its thin cap covering the skull also reminds us of the portraiture of the late Republic, as can be seen in two Republican portraits in Copenhagen (*Figs. 7–9*).[13] The portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet thus shows an incontestable blend of these two stylistic trends, something which is typi-

Digitized by Google

Fig. 10–11. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Inv. 734. Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

cal of the portraiture of the later part of the Julio-Claudian period, A.D. 40–50.[14]

Moreover, the sharp, tight and well-defined fringe contrasting with the flat curls on the top of the head, and the rather thin curls behind the ears are also iconographical details typical of portraits from the later part of the reign of Claudius.[15] An example of this is the portrait said to be that of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen which is dated to the Claudian period (*Figs. 10–11*).[16] The fringe shows the same characteristics as the portrait in Stockholm, i.e. a sharp contrast with the shallow, flat hair on the rest of the head. The short, abundant and wavy locks also show resemblances to those on the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet.

The images of Julio-Claudian emperors and princes generally have a more dented fringe and the coiffure is also more extensively elaborated and covers the head in a much thicker mass. This trait disappeared during the reign of Claudius, but re-occured in the portraits during that of Nero, in which the hair is extremely thick and executed in a plastic fashion.[17] The hair of the portraits of Claudius is formed as a dense, but shallow mass over the head, almost like a thin cap, just like the above-mentioned head in Copenhagen and the Stockholm portrait.

Digitized by Google

On portraits of the Julio-Claudian emperors, including earlier portraits of Claudius, the hair at the back and the sides of the neck is long and is always quite thick and plastic. A couple of thick curls stretch forward, combed almost completely horizontally.[18] This is also the case with portraits of the Julio-Claudian princes and up to a certain point with the private portraiture. Again, this changes during the later part of Claudius (*Figs. 12–13*).[19] The portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet has the kind of thin curls at the neck that we can see in the later portraits of Claudius. This also indicates a date of around the middle of the first century A.D. for the portrait in Stockholm.

Furthermore, the division of the hair at the right side of the forehead on the Stockholm portrait is rather conspicous. The

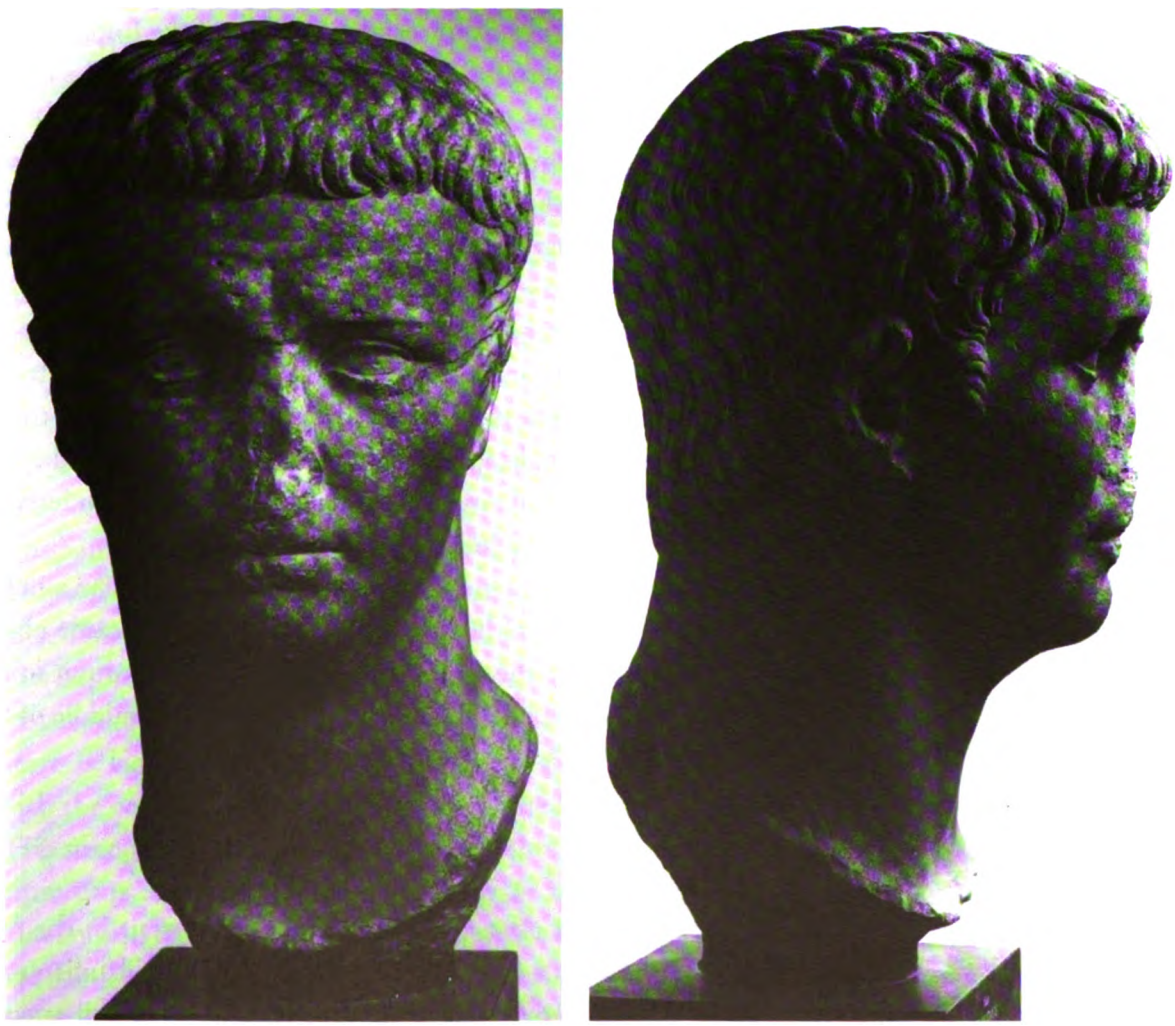


Fig. 12–13. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Inv. 1277. Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

Digitized by Google

fringes of Tiberius and Claudius are horizontal and straight with a slight, symmetrical partition in the middle.[20] This rendering is also common in the portraits of private citizens of the Julio-Claudian period.[21] The somewhat strange parting of the fringe on the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet is, however, totally different. It recalls the forking of the "claw" of Augustus. But the locks and strands are turned in the reverse direction, not forming a proper claw. This is almost unparalleled in the portraiture of the Julio-Claudian period.[22]

These iconographical traits may perhaps lead us to believe that the portrait in Stockholm depicts a member of the Imperial family. However, it is generally known that, gradually, during the Julio-Claudian period, the coiffures of private individuals with no connection with the Imperials gradually began to look like the coiffure of the emperor or of a member of the Imperial family. The hair on portraits of private citizens is parted in the middle of the forehead as on the portraits of Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius, but never resembles the Augustan claw. This is, however, the case with the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet; the division of the fringe, though reversed, clearly reminds us of the claw of Augustus.

Moreover, the rendering of the chin, the small mouth, and the shape of the nose are iconographic details clearly related to the portraiture of Tiberius. But this kind of direct likeness to the facial traits of an Emperor had not been properly established during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.[24] This too leads us to a date in the later Julio-Claudian period.

During the Flavian period the fashion of looking like a member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty most certainly became obsolete, and therefore the more probable date for the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet must be somewhere around the middle of the first century A.D.[25]

A fake?

To sum up, it is clear that the style of the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet is a mixture of a classicizing Julio-Claudian style and a veristic Republican style. This eclecticism is well attested

Digitized by Google

in portraits of the time, but in this particular case the eclecticism is somewhat strange and lacking in coherency. In fact, there are no clear and evident parallels to this portrait in Roman coinage or sculpture. It reminds us of a Julio-Claudian prince with the features of the Julio-Claudian emperors, i.e. the facial structure and the forming of the fringe, but lacks the basic likeness to a specific individual of the Imperial family.[26]

This is rather peculiar, and may lead us to believe that the portrait is a fake, but there is no decisive proof of a forgery.[27] However, when we look more closely at the details of the portrait, we find further discrepancies.

The hair

The cutting of the hair is very strange. The bang seems to be separated from the hair on the sides. On the portrait of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi in Copenhagen (*Figs. 10–11*) the bang is, in the typical Claudian manner, more accentuated than the rest of the hair, but the hair on the skull forms a logical continuation from the bang. On the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet, there is no such continuation of the locks.

At some places on the skull, the hair is much more worn than in directly adjacent areas, where the locks are deeply and sharply cut. These areas have the same patina as the worn parts and are thus supposed to be ancient. This particular form of wearing of the marble is illogical and is indeed difficult to explain. The hair could, of course, be unevenly worn in this manner, but this seems hardly probable. It rather looks like artificial wearing.

The way in which the coiffure is rendered makes no sense either. The locks are, as we have seen, falling over the skull in a rather haphazard and random way. The hair on Roman portraits emanates from the crown, falling in clearly defined ways. This feature is lacking in the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet, in which the coiffure has a confused and scattered look.[28]

The strange execution of the right sideburn is also a striking feature. It is rendered only by a few, straggly and shallow lines. This contrasts strongly with the left one, which is rendered in the more familiar fashion of Julio-Claudian portraits. But even this sideburn is strangely shallow compared with the rest of the coif-

Digitized by Google

fure. Indeed, the right sideburn seems to have been carved after the rest of the coiffure. This sideburn is covered by the same patina as the rest of the head, so it cannot have been made in modern times, if the patina is genuine. Another strange feature about the right sideburn is the very sharp lines in which it is cut. These lines form a low relief, instead of the plastic appearance of sideburns in general. This is unparalleled in Roman portraiture.

The parting on the right side of the fringe is another problem. A coiffure so strongly related to the claw of Augustus and the Imperial family is unparalleled in this kind of individual portraiture. However, we know that private individuals soon began to adopt the imperial coiffure, something that first occurred during the reign of Tiberius.[29] There are a few examples in which the hair of the bang is raised on one side and sometimes even suggests a fork, but this is unusual and is never executed in the same extended way as in the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet.[30]

The patina

The patina and the many scratchings on the surface pose other problems and questions. The portrait is covered by a uniform, yellowish-grey patina. This patina does not penetrate deeply into the marble. On the right side of the head, the patina is so shallow that the white marble shines through. This suggests an artificial patina. Moreover, on the face there are some patches of lighter, almost off-white patina. It is difficult to explain why the patina should change colour in clearly exposed areas.

The mouth

The mouth has swollen lips.[31] The lower lip is very thick, but even the upper lip with its Cupid's bow is too extreme for a Roman portrait. However, these kinds of thick or almost swollen and slightly parted lips do have parallels in ancient sculpture. Portraits of Tiberius sometimes show a similar feature, but such features are mostly seen in Hellenistic sculpture, for instance, in the portrait of Maussollos, now in the British Museum. His mouth is almost identical with the one on the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet. The same swollen lips can be seen in other Hellenistic portraits, especially the portraits of Alexander.[32] There

Digitized by Google

Fig. 14. Detail of MM 1978:15.

is, however, a difference. The lower lip of the Hellenistic portraits is solid, almost forming an oval. The lower lip of the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet is pressed in the middle, almost forming two "cushions" (*Fig. 14*). In private portraiture from the Julio-Claudian period, these swollen lips have no parallels and look, in fact, very modern.

The slightly parted lips are unusual in Roman private portraiture. The half-open mouth, however, does have parallels in ancient art. It often indicates a rhetorical or philosophical attitude – as we can see in the portraits of Cicero and Homer – or some kind of divinity or divine ancestry, as, for example in the portraits of Hellenistic rulers and as in the portrait of Caligula in Copenhagen.[33] This kind of half-opened mouth may also signal something contrary to the closed mouth with tight lips, which mostly indicates self-control, or harsh and serious *Entschlossenheit*.[34] The strangely parted lips in this private portrait do not therefore necessarily indicate a fake. But the swollen lips have a strange and unfamiliar appearance.

The asymmetry

Furthermore, the head is very asymmetrical. The asymmetry of a portrait is not evidence for a fake; almost all Roman portraits have a slight but natural asymmetry. This is the normal device

Digitized by Google

by which a sculptor makes a portrait more lively. But the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet has some extreme features. It is almost as if there were two sculptors working on either side at the same time, not knowing what the other was doing.

The left eye is markedly different from the right eye and more poorly executed than the right one. It is not only smaller but is also slightly sloping. The same thing can be observed on looking at the ears. The left ear is much bigger than the right and is disproportionally big. It is not just the size that differs, but also the rendering of the ears.[35] These striking anomalies also concern the sideburns, as previously mentioned, where the left sideburn is made from only a few, straggly lines.

The Adam's apple

An even stranger feature is the Adam's apple. It is cut in a very peculiar way. Adam's apples are usually wide and rendered more plastically and anatomically, i.e. they look more realistic. This cutting looks more like a small, vertical hatching and does not resemble the way in which a Roman sculptor usually depicted an Adam's apple.

When these details and strange features are put toghether, there are indications of the head beeing a fake. However, there is no decisive or clear evidence of this, only indications. The portrait may just as well be a genuine Roman portrait from the middle of the first century A.D.

If the portrait is a fake, then it is probably a modern one from the 20th century.

Conclusion

The portrait discussed, MM 1978:15, is a portrait of an unknown man with features typical of the Julio-Claudian period. It was made in a period in which private individuals adopted the features of the ruling elite. The overall, Julio-Claudian, classicizing features can be observed in the tranquil, candid face, emphasized by the right-side parting of the bang.

Digitized by Google

Nevertheless, there are obvious features of ageing, traits more typical of Late Republican portraiture. This marked eclecticism points to a sculptural tradition which was present during the later part of the reign of Claudius, i.e. around A.D. 50–54. This date is further supported by the features of the thinly executed hair, contrasting with the thicker bang.

However, there are discrepancies in this portrait, anomalies that suggest that it may in fact be a fake. Most peculiar is the rendering of the hair and the appearance of the mouth and the Adam's apple. Several technical features, i.e. the shallow appearance of the patina and the cutting technique and the lack of coherence of style, also seem to support such an assumption.

The parting of the bang is unique in Roman private portraiture. It strongly reminds us of the bang of Augustus but is rendered in a different fashion. As far as I am concerned, this is unparalleled in Roman private portraiture from this period, but is not an evidence for a fake.

If the portrait is genuine, then it is indeed a very fine and unusual example of the private portraiture from the middle of the first century A.D. However, the question must remain open.

Olle Sylvén
Medelhavsmuseet

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Karen Slej, Dr. Flemming Johansen, Mette Moltesen and my colleagues of the University of Stockholm. I would also like to thank Inga-Britt Rosén-Epel for invaluable help with the written documents and records in the archives of the Medelhavsmuseet.

[1] The portrait was acquired from the art-dealer Mario Barsanti, 54 Via Margutta, Rome. This art-dealer's shop no longer exists. I have visited the art-dealer's shop there now, but there is no information about Barsanti's business.

[2] The portrait was also identified as Tiberius and the Swedish Ambassador even identified it as Titus!; cf. the archives of the correspondence of the Medelhavsmuseet, "Barsanti" 1963–64.

[3] The portrait was collected from Barsanti on 25 March 1965 by Mr Gino Filipetto, of the Swedish Institute, and was kept in the Institute until the beginning of July

Digitized by Google

1967; cf. a memorandum from A. Andrén dated 27 March 1965:Bil.MM Dur 95/65.

[4] King Gustaf VI Adolf had stated that he acquired the portrait on the account of the Medelhavsmuseet

[5] *Antiken – Konst från den grekisk-romerska kulturvärlden ur svenska samlingar. Utställning tillägnad H.M. Konungen, anordnad av Medelhavsmuseet och Nationalmuseum, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, september–november 1967* (Nationalmusei utställningskatalog nr. 313, Stockholm 1967, kat. nr. 303) 78

[6] Letter from Barsanti to Vessberg dated 13 January 1964. In the catalogue of the Nationalmuseum, the portrait is said to have come from a private collection in Siena. This may possibly refer to Barsanti's uncle, but unfortunately cannot be confirmed. This is the only written information about the origin of the portrait.

[7] Other measurements are as follows: width of neck 13.6 cm, width of forehead 13.5 cm, width between eyes 10.3 cm, width of mouth 5.0 cm, length of nose 7.5 cm, width of nose 3.9 cm, length of right ear 7.7 cm, length of left ear 8.2 cm, width of right eye 3.9 cm, width of right eye 3.7 cm, length of damage to left eyebrow 4.3 cm, height of damage at left eyebrow 2.5 cm. The weight is approx.18.5 kg.

[8] In this article, the "left side" is seen from the portrait's left side.

[9] D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman sculpture*, New Haven & London 1992, 126; K. Fittschen & P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* I, Mainz am Rhein 1985, 10–14; Z. Kiss, *L'Iconographie des princes Julio-Claudiens au temps d'Auguste et de Tibère*, Warsaw 1975, 10-23.

[10] For the Pathos and esp. the diminishing of the Pathos during the early Imperial period, see L. Giuliani, *Bildnis und Botschaft*, Frankfurt am Main 1986, 200ff; see also P. Zanker, 'Individuum und Typus: Zur Bedeutung des realistischen Individualporträts der späten Republik', in *Roman Portraits: Artistic and literary, Acts of the third International conference on the Roman portraits held in Prague and in the Bechyne Castle from 25 to 29 Sept. 1989*, eds. J. Bouzek & I. Ondrojeva, Mainz am Rhein 1997, 12.

[11] E.D. Hertel, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Chronologie des Kaiser- und Prinzenporträts von Augustus bis Claudius*, Diss. Bonn 1982, 88–89. P. Zanker, 'Herrscherbild und Zeitgeschicht', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, Ges-Sprachw. Reihe, 31, 1982, 307. The idealism in portraiture during the reign of Augustus certainly prevails, but the realism in sculpture never completely disappears, see J.C. Balty, *Porträt und Gesellschaft in der römischen Welt*, Mainz am Rhein 1993, 16: "Realismus bliebt also eine Konstante in der römischen Kunst..."

[12] O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, Lund 1941; B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*, Leipzig 1948.

[13] F. Johansen, *Roman portraits* I, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen 1994, 72–73 (Inv. 1788) and 206–207 (Inv. 727).

[14] I. Jucker, *Skulpturen der Antikensammlung Ennetwies*, Mainz 1995, 35, pl. 38; K. Fittschen, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloß Erbach*, Mainz 1977, 55–57, No. 17, pl. 19; Hertel (supra n. 11) 18, 87–89. This is associated with the affection for the Republican ideals that was revived during the reign of Claudius. Portraits of famous Republican men began to be copied. One example is the famous portrait of Pompeius in Copenhagen (Inv. 733) that is believed to be a Claudian replica of a Republican original, see V. Poulsen, *Les portraits Romain* I: *République et Dynastie Julienne*, Copenhagen 1973, 39–41, pl. I–II. But Johansen dates it to the first half of the first century A.D. (supra n. 13, cat. no. 1, 24–25 II).

[15] P. Cain, *Männerbildnisse neronisch-flavischer Zeit*, München 1993, 30, 32.

[16] Poulsen (supra n. 14) cat. no. 73, 110–111; Johansen (supra n. 13), cat. no. 75, 174–175 (Inv. 734).

[17] Johansen (supra n. 13), cat. no. 123, 280–281 (Inv. 1650).

Digitized by Google

[18] For the pattern of the curls at the side of the head and the importance of these for the identification of certain individuals, see K. Fittschen, 'Hinterköpfe: über den wissenschaftlichen Erkenntniswert von Bildnisrückseiten', *Praestant Interna: Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann*, Tübingen 1982, 123f.

[19] Hertel (supra n. 11), pls. 33c+34a,c.

[20] Jucker (supra n. 14), 35. See also Jucker, 'Iulisch-claudische Kaiser- und Prinzenporträts als "Palimpseste"', *JdI* 96, 1981, 236–316.

[21] Kleiner (supra n. 9), 78–80. In the private portraiture of the first half of the first century A.D., only the younger freedmen and their children adopted the Augustan hair style, while the older members of the family retained their Republican coiffure and overall Republican appearance; see also D.E.E. Kleiner, 'Private portraiture in the Age of Augustus', in *The Age of Augustus, Conference held at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island*, R. Winkes (ed.) 1982, Louvain 1986, 120–121, 135

[22] One exception from the Augustan claw in Imperial portraiture is a portrait typus of Tiberius, called the Ephesos-München Typus, in which the locks in the fringe run parallel to the right instead of forming a proper claw; see D. Boschung, 'Die Bildnistypen der iulisch-claudischen Kaiserfamilie', *JRA*, 6, 1993, 56–57. This is almost identical with the rendering of the bang in the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet, except that the locks are not so clearly divided. The hair-cap is also different from the much thinner hair on the Stockholm head.

[23] Zanker (supra n. 10), 307–312. "Auch direkte Frisurangleichungen sind zumindest in augusteisch-tiberischer Zeit nich häufig, neben dann aber unter Caligula und Claudius zu", 310. This is also discussed by Balty (supra n. 11), 13.

[24] Zanker (supra n. 10), 307, 310. This has also been noticed by J. Pollini, *The portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar*, New York 1987, 11, n. 40. Eventually, during the 2nd century, this fashion was developed and so perfected that one has to be careful not to interpret a private portrait from this age as an Imperial one; Pollini, 11.

[25] Or even later during the reign of Nerva when the deified Augustus as the first emperor had a renaissance and was widely celebrated.

[26] I am very grateful to the former director of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Dr. Flemming Johansen, for drawing my attention to some of the indications that may lead us to believe that the portrait may be a fake, as discussed in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek on May 12, 1998.

[27] The literature on fakes used in this article is as follows: K.Türr, *Fälschungen antiker Plastik seit 1800*, Berlin 1984; R. Cohon, review of K. Türr, *AJA* 92, 1988, 305–306; *Fake? The art of deception*, ed. M. Jones, London 1990; *Why fakes matter: essays on problems of authenticity*, ed. M. Jones, London 1992; R. Cohon, *Discovery and Deceit: Archaeology and the forger's craft* (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art), Kansas City 1996; B. Ashmole, *Forgeries of Ancient sculpture in marble: Creation and detection*, Oxford 1961; *Roman portraits: Aspects of self and society, first century B.C. to third century A.D.: A loan exhibition.* J. Paul Getty Museum 1980, 90–97; G. Vaugham, 'Plaster and marble: The classical and neo-classical portrait-bust', *Journal of the history of collections*, 3, 1991, 184f; U. Müller-Kaspar, *Das sogenannte Falsche am Echten. Antikenergänzungen im späteren 18. Jahrhundert in Rom*, Diss. Bonn 1988.

[28] The hair is executed differently on either side of the head, but this is not a strange feature in Roman sculpture. It can be seen on many Julio-Claudian portraits and depends on the way which the hair emanates from the bang and on which side of the bang the parting is on. It is therefore not good evidence of forgery.

[29] Zanker (supra n. 10), 311.

[30] V. Kockel, *Porträtreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und zum Verständnis des spätrepublikanisch-frühkaiserzeitlichen Privatporträts*, Mainz am Rhein 1993, Pl. 69c, 26c, 12a, esp. 64d for the forking.

[31] According to Dr. Flemming Johansen the mouth strongly resembles the mouths on

Digitized by Google

sculpture from the 19th and 20th centuries. It is a feature that strongly suggests a modern fake, probably from this century.

[32] In discussing the portraiture of Augustus, the connection with and the heritage of the portraits of Alexander are often mentioned. This mostly concerns the hair style; see esp. U. Hausmann, 'Zur Typologie und Ideologie des Augustusporträts', *ANRW* II,12,2, 1981. Is it possible that the shape of the mouth in Julio-Claudian portraits also goes back to the portraits of Alexander?

[33] Johansen (supra n. 13), cat. no. 56, 136–137 (Inv. 2687).

[34] Giuliani (supra n. 10), 230–231. One example of this is emphasized in Giuliani's discussion of the portrait of Crassus, in which the harshness of Crassus is clearly demonstrated in the firmly closed mouth. The opened mouth, on the other hand, is a common way of expressing an ecstatic attitude and can be seen in ideal images of maenads and satyrs and of Bacchus himself. In the catalogue of the Nationalmuseet in Stockholm the portrait in the Medelhavsmuseet is described as the portrait of a delicate and sensitive man, cf supra n. 4.

[35] Ears are often extremely carefully executed in Roman portraits. One striking exception to this is a bronze portrait of Augustus found in Herculaneum. If one did not have the excavation report, one would suspect a fake on seeing those ears; see D. Boschung, 'Die Bildnisse des Augustus', *Das römische Herrscherbild*, Abt. I, Berlin 1993, pl. 62, cat. no. 52

[36] Dr. Flemming Johansen means that, if the portrait is a fake, it was made after the Second World War.

Digitized by Google

Medical Instruments or Classical Cosmetic Utensils?

Seven copper alloy probes in Stockholm

JENNIFER RANDOLPH

In the following pages I will present and examine seven unpublished copper alloy objects presently at the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm. The objects are of a sort known as probes, practical utensils used during Antiquity for both cosmetic application and as medical instruments. The purpose of this study is to discern which of these functions these particular probes were used for. The terminology I have used for the probes is that of J.S. Milne.[1]

The Probes

The seven probes in question, NM Ant 623–626, 642, 993 and 892, are part of a large collection of objects on long term loan from the National Museum in Stockholm. The seven probes were acquired in 1880/1881, and they are listed in the register of vases etc.[2]

Cyathiscomela
(Fig. 1.1)

NM Ant 623, length 16.9 cm. The three main components of this probe are spoon, shaft and olivary tip. The spoon is deep and of an oblong shape, and 8.5 mm at the widest. It is rounded in section (as opposed to v-shaped), and the end of the spoon is turned upward. The spoon is met at the shaft with rings and bulbs, a type of decor referred to as "multiple ring-and-squat-baluster moulding".[3] The shaft is round in section. The olivary tip is distinct and egg-shaped. Well preserved, with a green-blue patina.

Digitized by Google

Spathomela
(Fig. 1.5)
NM Ant 624, length 16.8 cm. Though less distinct than those of NM Ant 623, the components of this probe are blade, shaft and olivary tip. The leaf-shaped blade is flat, aside from a slight spine, or median ridge, on one side, and its edges are fine but not sharp. At its widest, the blade is 1.4 cm. The shaft is hexagonal in section. The width of the shaft swells towards the middle, and then tapers gradually off as it meets with the oblong olivary tip. The very bottom of the tip is flattened off. The probe has either been bent or was made slightly bow-shaped (not to be confused with the type of *spathomela* that is made distinctly angled). Well preserved, with a green-blue patina.

Dipyrene
(Fig. 1.3)
NM Ant 625, length 16.7 cm. Composed of a slender shaft with an olivary tip at each end. The shaft is round in section, with a width of 1.9 mm. The olivary tips have a width of 2.5 mm, and are drawn out and slender. Well preserved, with a green-blue patina.

Ligula
(Fig. 1.2)
NM Ant 626, length 15.8 cm. Composed of "eye", neck and shaft. The "eye", a small, flat circular plate 4.5 mm in diameter, is at an angle to the finely crafted neck that gradually widens to meet the shaft with three upraised rings. The upper 2/3 of the shaft is twisted, while the last 1/3 of the shaft is round in section. The end of the shaft narrows and tapers off to a blunt point. This probe is on the whole exquisitely crafted and well preserved, with a blue patina.

Spathomela
(Fig. 1.6)
NM Ant 642, length 17.8 cm. Composed of blade, shaft and olivary tip. The blade is flat, the base of which is 13 mm while the rounded end is 8.5 mm. The shaft is more substancial than

Digitized by Google

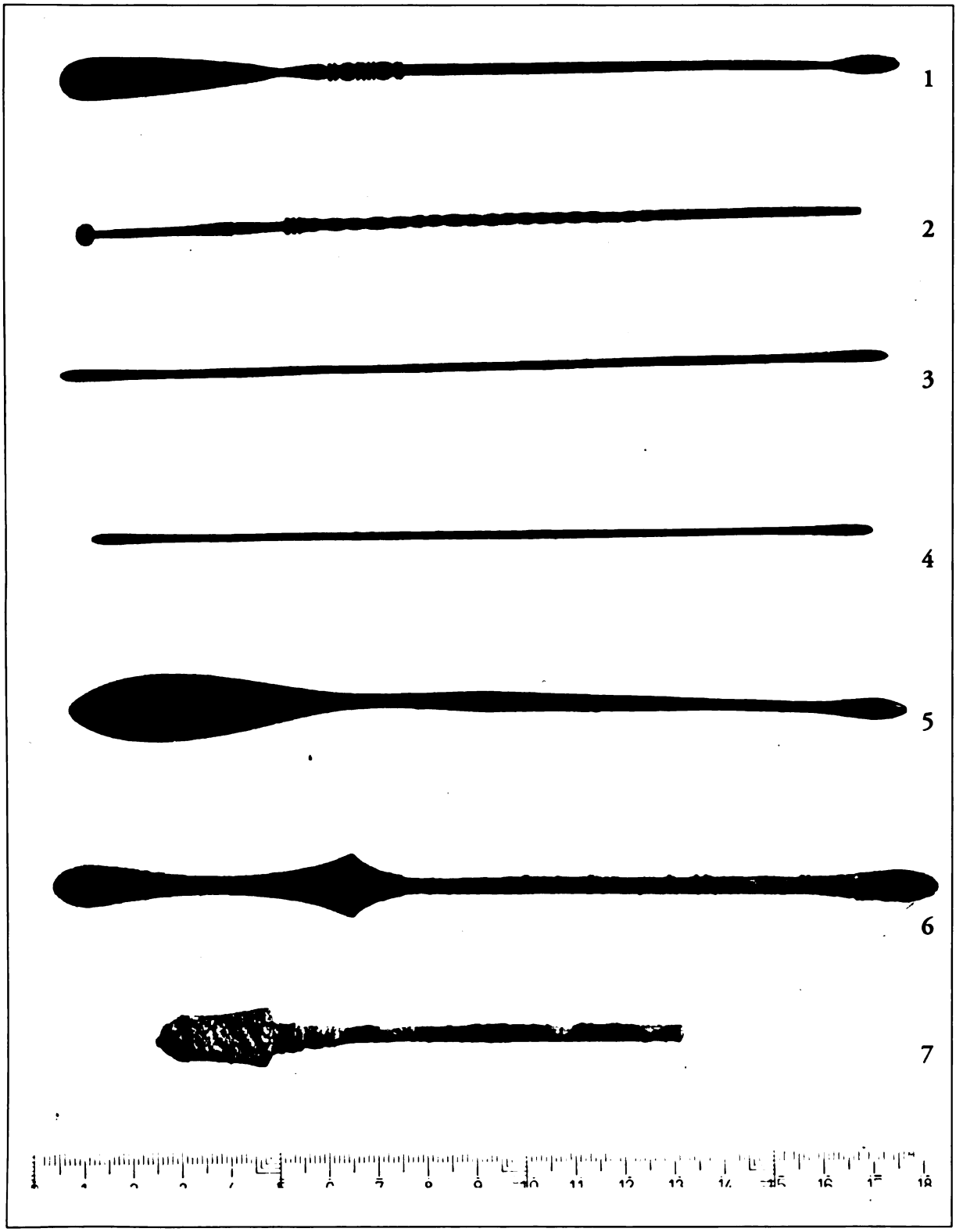


Fig. 1. The seven probes in the Medelhavsmuseet.

Digitized by Google

the probes mentioned above. It is round in section, 3.5 mm thick. The olivary tip is drawn out, but distinct. The whole probe is covered with incrustations, but its features are distinct. Of notice are two red spots on the shaft, and also one gold-coloured spot, whose surface is somewhat lower than the surrounding corrosion products. This piece was subject to a metal analysis, which will be discussed below.

Dipyrene
(Fig. 1.4)
NM Ant 993, length 15.8 cm. Though slightly smaller, this probe is in appearance identical to NM Ant 625. The shaft is 1.5 mm thick, and the olivary tips are each 2.2 mm thick. The very bottom of each tip is flattened off. Well preserved, with a green-blue patina.

Spathomela (?)
(Fig. 1.7)
NM Ant 892, length 10.8 cm. Due to both the shaft and the spatula showing signs of being broken off, a definite identification of this probe is more difficult. The spatula is flat with a length of 2.8 cm, separated from the shaft by a simple "ring-and-baluster moulding". The preserved part of the shaft itself is 7 cm long, and appears to be round in section. Corroded.

NM Ant 623–626, 642 and 993 are part of a larger collection of c. 400 Greek and Syrian objects donated to the National Museum by Dr. Carlo Landberg late in the year 1880. He brought the objects to Sweden in 1876, after which they were on exhibit at "Svenska Slöjdföreningens museum". Landberg claimed that most of the objects came from the Sidon necropolis, while the rest were from Tyrus and Cyprus.[4] The probes in question were first registered like this: "III. Bronze: Doctor instruments, 5 pieces, with the case" (the word *etui* was used in the register).[5] NM Ant 623–626, 642 and 993 were here stated to have come from the Sidon necropolis. No closer details as to the context in which they were found were given. The case mentioned in connection with these in the registry was not mentioned when these instru-

Digitized by Google

ments were listed in the accession catalogue, and there is now no trace of a case at either the Medelhavsmuseet or the National Museum.

NM Ant 892 is part of a collection of objects originally belonging to Mr. M.N. Rodocanachi, the Swedish-Norwegian consul in Greece during the 1880's. Judging from the registration of the objects acquired from Mr. Rodocanachi, this object must be the one included in the objects under the listing "E. Objects of bronze/ and iron: Various smaller objects".[6] Here even less is known of the context in which the objects were found. All that is said is that the collection consisted of objects from mainland Greece and the islands.[7]

In determining the nature of specific instrument finds, the overall context in which they are found is taken to be the most important indicator of their former purpose. This is especially true of the more common types of instruments, such as the class of probes. More often, it is what is found or not found with the instruments that decides between a domestic and a medical classification, rather than the instruments themselves.

Sometimes the find context is obvious. The single probe finds from individual homes reflect a non-medical context.[8] Besides such contexts, the example most often used as evidence for a non-medical use of probes is "the grave of the lady artist" from St. Médard-des-Près.[9] Two *cyathiscomele* were found in this grave together with cases containing traces of paint. As with cosmetics, spatula probes were well suited, and were often used, for mixing and spreading paints.[10]

Other contexts may not be as self evident, and thus are subject to individual interpretation. Precedent has been set up for such contexts, like that used by Künzl in the occurence of a spatula together with a *Salbenreibplatte*, a stone slab on which cosmetics were prepared.[11] The combination is very common, and according to Künzl, this type of find should disqualify the probe as a medical instrument, placing it in the category of cosmetic utensils. This general interpretation would certainly make a comfortable preliminary division of finds, but the criterion is not definite, and the borderline is often thin. Though stone slabs were

Digitized by Google

well suited for preparing cosmetics, they were also widely used by doctors. The edges of the stone slabs could be used to sharpen scalpells on, and as with cosmetics, the slabs were equally suited for the preparation of ointments, and therefore a basic tool for the ophtalmologist.[12]

That probes were of importance to the medical practioner, however, is well supported by descriptions from classical authors of the recommended use of probes in several medical situations. Due to the restrictions surrounding dissection and vivisection during classical times, problems arose from the lack of knowledge concerning internal organs and functions. In facing these problems, exploring wounds was exceedingly significant, and sounds and probes were made especially suited for this purpose. In *On Wounds of the Head*, from the Hippocratic corpus, the use of probes is mentioned when dealing with wounds to the head.[13] Celsus in *On Medicine* mentions the use of the probe for the inspection of a fistula and an ulceration of the ear, as well as in the application of medicaments.[14] In his *Treatise* Paulus Aegineta specifically recommends the use of the *dipyrene* as a cautery when treating trichiasis,[15] while Galen mentions especially the *dipyrene* and the *spathomela* for several medical situations in *Practical Anatomy*.[16]

Due to their multiple functions, it is rare that probes in themselves are interpreted as medical instruments. It is only when they are found together with primary medical-surgical instruments such as scalpels/knives, forceps, cauteries, uterine or anal dialators, saws and files, as well as trepanation tools and needles, that probes are viewed as having been a part of a medical *instrumentarium*.[17] An example of this can be seen in the group of instruments found in the baths of Weißenburg. The find consisted of two *cyathiscomele*, three *spathomele*, two *ligulae*, one hooked probe, and one scalpel. It is solely due to the presence of the scalpel that this find is seen as medical and not cosmetic, and it is due to finds like this that it is thought that medicine was practiced in Roman baths.[18]

The probes at Medelhavsmuseet are all well crafted. Being from an unknown context, these probes should by all modern stan-

Digitized by Google

dards be seen unquestionably as domestic utensils. Despite this general view, and despite Bliquez's explicit conclusion that probes "should ... *never* be considered surgical gear unless they were found in medical context (e.g. in a physician's grave) with other indisputably surgical tools", a few of the probes deserve a closer consideration of their possible use.[19]

Of special interest are NM Ant 624, 625 and 993. NM Ant 624, the *spathomela*, is of the undecorated sort, and the shape of its blade is similar to that of a scalpel. Though the edges of NM Ant 624 are not sharp enough for regular dissection, they are very fine, and the blade ends in a somewhat rounded off point. It would seem that these features made this type of *spathomela* more suitable for blunt dissection than for example, the garfish type or more rounded *spathomela*.[20]

Of more interest are the two *dipyrene* of the group, NM Ant 625 and 993. Besides its specific mention in surgical procedures, the *dipyrene* is a more rarely found probe, and apart from the examples of unknown context and those from Pompeii that cannot "be traced to a surgical find spot",[21] all other known examples are seen as medical.[22] Jackson says, "... it may be safely assumed that the Roman surgeon's probe case was seldom without at least one fine *dipyrene*".[23] Of the types of probes more often represented in domestic contexts, such as the *spathomela* and *cyathiscomela*, the olivary ends are often rather large and defined like those on Egyptian kohl sticks, which suit well for mixing paints and cosmetics as well as ointments. Bliquez says the *dipyrene* may have been used for the same purposes, but it is quite possible that the slender olivary ends featured on NM Ant 625 and 993 were the type required for use as a doctor's sound for surgical procedures as mentioned in the Classical texts.[24]

Worth extra comment is also the *ligula* featured in this group, NM Ant 626. I was able to find only three examples of probes with twisted shafts like NM Ant 626, but none was as exquisitley crafted in all aspects. In speaking of the function of the *ligula* in administering liquid medicaments, it has been noted that shaft decor would aid in fastening and squeezing saturated wool.[25] The twisted shaft of NM Ant 626 would be favourable in this aspect.

Digitized by Google

There is a similarity in the patina and the corrosion, or rather lack of it, on NM Ant 623–626 and 993. Due to this, it is my belief that these probes derive from the same find. The high level of preservation and lack of corrosion seems to indicate that the probes were protected during the passing of time. As they are also approximately the same size and show an equally high level of craftsmanship, it is also my belief that they formed a set. It was not uncommon for several probes to be found together in cases. Though the cases could be made of various materials, the most common type of container still preserved today is the cylindrical case, referred to as a probe case or "etui".[26] Such probe cases have been found in both medical and non-medical contexts (see *Fig. 2:1–7*).[27] These probe cases have no specific dating, however, and where a stylistic comparison can be used to show that the probes are from different periods, this method would not be applicable for the cases.

A stylistic comparison was made between the shape and decor of the probes in the Medelhavsmuseet and other probes, from both medical and non-medical contexts. As no typology has been established for probes, it can be questioned whether a stylistic comparison of probes can provide any useful information in the dating of probes. It is possible, however, that a comparison could reveal the commonness and/or rarity of some styles of decor, and I found such a study worthwhile. The intentions of this type of comparison were to see if: 1) certain shapes and/or decor are associated with finds restricted to a specific time period, thus providing a tentative dating of the probes in the Medelhavsmuseet, 2) the shapes and/or decor of the probes in the Medelhavsmuseet are associated with or restricted to certain types of contexts, possibly indicating a specific use and 3) the shapes and/or decor of the probes in the Medelhavsmuseet are associated with or restricted to certain geographical areas, possibly indicating a local tradition or perhaps even an individual workshop. For each probe, the stylistic aspects that can vary for that type of probe were compared to the other probes I had photographic access to. Such stylistic aspects included the shape of the

Digitized by Google

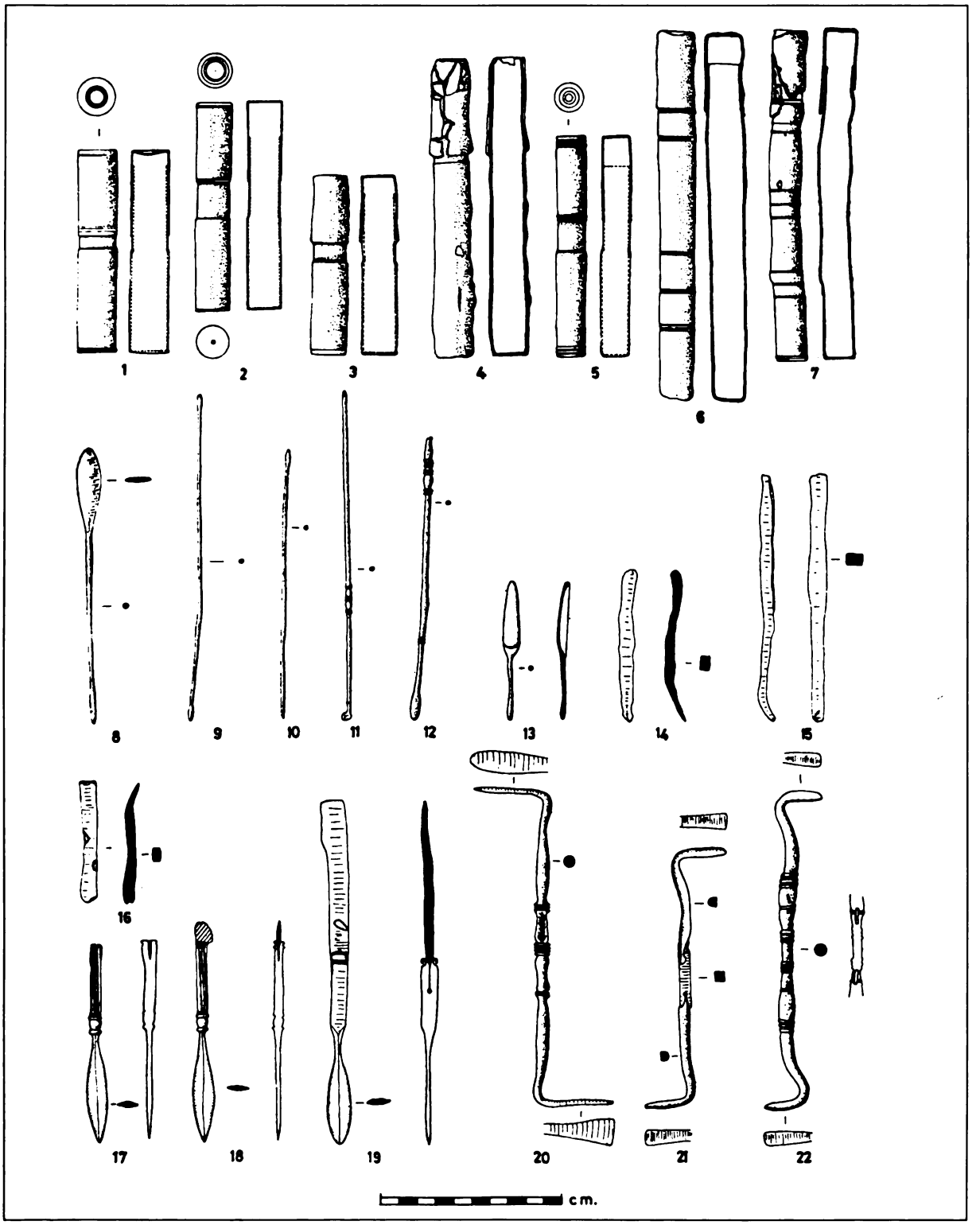


Fig. 2. Part of instruments found in the Roman Surgeon's Tomb in Nea Paphos, Cyprus. From D. Michaelides, A Roman Surgeon's Tomb from Nea Paphos, RDAC 1984, 317, fig. 1.

Digitized by Google

shaft, blade, neck, olivary tip, as well as the lack or presence of decor, the type of decor and its placement. I also took into consideration the level of craftsmanship the individual probes appeared to reflect, an aspect closely tied to the fineness of detail present on the probe. A true parallel to the probes in the Medelhavsmuseet was deemed as being one that shared each of the compared stylistic aspects chosen for that specific probe, while a close parallel was deemed as being one that shared some of the compared stylistic aspects, giving the probe an overall impression similar to its counterpart in the Medelhavsmuseet. Consideration was taken to all shared aspects, to see what these may indicate. Fragmentary finds made a complete comparison difficult, as the different components of the probes could be found in different combinations. The presense of corrosion also made some comparisons of decor and craftsmanship difficult.

For the *cyathisomela*, NM Ant 623, I have taken into consideration the shape of the spoon, the shaft (NM Ant 623 has a smooth shaft), the shape of the neck (where the spoon turns into the shaft) and the decor of the neck. As the "ring-and-baluster moulding" on the neck of this example is extensive and well executed, I have differentiated between those pieces who only bear raised rings or simpler mouldings, and those reflecting more extensive detail to the decor. Among the *cyathiscomele* listed in Bliquez' catalogue similar moulding is represented, but the shape of the spoon as well as the treatment of the neck and shaft are different.[28] Bliquez' no. A16 features a smooth shaft and a more elaborately decorated neck, but the spoon is missing, and nothing can be said of its shape. Probes with similar, but not parallel, shape and decor were found in graves from Cologne (A.D. 3rd–4th centuries)[29] and the Forcello Necropolis (A.D. 2nd century).[30] The closest parallel is to be found at the University of Mississippi, a *cyathiscomela* from a group of instruments said to have originated from Pompeii.[31] This example has nearly identical features in all compared aspects. Based on shape and decor, a tentative date for NM Ant 623 would be A.D. 1st to the 3rd–4th centuries.

For the *spathomela*, NM Ant 624, I have taken into consideration the shape of the blade and shaft. I was able to find no other

Digitized by Google

example featuring a hexagonal shaft. This may be due in turn to a lack of detail in the descriptions and photographs of the probes I have had access to. Most *spathomela* that I have found have had a more rounded blade, whereas the blade of NM Ant 624 comes to a blunt point.[32] Of interest is that among the probes in the collection of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples, octagonal shafts are a common feature. The *spathomela* from the surgeon's tomb from Nea Paphos (A.D. 2nd–3rd centuries)(*Fig. 2:8*),[33] as well as an example from Pompeii,[34] has the same blade shape, but the shaft is round in section. The closest parallel is to be found in the British Museum, a probe dated to A.D. 1st–2nd centuries , with a rounder blade, but with both a median ridge on one side and an octagonal shaft, giving the most similar overall impression to NM Ant 624.[35] Based on these observations a tentative date for NM Ant 624 would be A.D. 1st–2nd centuries.

For the *dipyrene*, NM Ant 625 and 993, I have taken into consideration the shape of the olivary tips and the thickness of the shaft. Of the eleven finds of whole *dipyrene* that I have had photographic access to[36] six examples show most resemblance to NM Ant 625 and 993: four *dipyrene* listed in Bliquez' catalogue of finds from Pompeii and Herculaneum, nos. 209–212,[37] (especially nos. 211 and 212 appear to have equally slender olivary tips as NM Ant 625 and 993), the *dipyrene* from Nea Paphos (*Fig. 2:9*)[38] and an example in the British Museum.[39] This *dipyrene* belongs to a group of instruments that usually are part of an *instrumentarium.* Other find contexts have included similar *dipyrene*, but these often feature rounder olivary tips.[40] Based on the slenderness of the olivary tips and the shape of the shaft, a tentative date for NM Ant 625 and 993 would be the 1st–3rd century A.D.

For the *ligula*, NM Ant 626, I have taken into consideration the shape of the scoop, differentiating between a flat scoop and deep scoop, the treatment of the neck and the shape of the shaft. Of all the photographs of *ligulae* that I had access to, not one example turned out to be a true parallel to the shape and decor of NM Ant 626.[41] Two *ligulae* featuring a shaft with a twisted upper half are found at the Municipal Museum in Worms, and are dated to A.D. 1st–3rd centuries.[42] These pieces lack defined

Digitized by Google

necks, however, while other *ligulae* there feature decorated necks, but lack shaft decoration. Aside from these, I have only been able to find one more *ligula*, of unknown provenance, featuring the twisted shaft decor, also this one with only the upper half of the shaft twisted, but it appears to have a deep scoop rather than a flat one as NM Ant 626.[43] The examples presented in Riha's "Variante D" feature the idea of the defined neck, but are not as finely crafted as NM Ant 626.[44] Also of interest is a *cyathiscomela* from Weißenburg that appears to feature a shaft twisted in its entire length like that of NM Ant 626.[45] It is part of a set of instruments dating to A.D. 2nd century including an exquisite scalpel. In light of this, a tentative date for NM Ant 626 based on the twisted shaft decor would have to be A.D. 1st–3rd centuries.

The dating of the *spathomela* NM Ant 642 by stylistic comparison was a difficult task as this type of probe, known as "fish type", is of a type that does not seem to have changed shape or form over the centuries. Therefore, I have placed much emphasis on the shape of the blade, as well as taken into consideration the shaft decor (though NM Ant 642 has a smooth shaft), and the shape of the olivary tip. Most examples of this type of probe have wider blades, and many feature decorated shafts.[46] The closest parallel to this piece belongs to a set of instruments at the Johns Hopkins University Institute of the History of Medicine dated to the Roman Empire[47] though the distinction of the angle at which the blade curves out is not as defined as on NM Ant 642.[48] Based on stylistic comparison, a dating more specific than to "the Roman Empire" cannot here be defended.

A metal analysis was conducted on this piece, showing the metal to be brass rather than bronze (*see Appendix I*). The Romans were producing brass by the 1st century BC, and by the 1st century AD brass was widely used. The method used is called the cementation process, and it has been found that this process at the time allowed for a maximum zinc content of 28%. The average zinc content was 13%, and usually the tin or lead content was little or none.[49] NM Ant 642 meets this description, and the previously mentioned gold spot supports a low zinc content as the "greenish-yellow colour of brass appears only with

Digitized by Google

zinc contents above 20%" and a copper alloy with 10–12% zinc "is very golden in colour, and is not easily distinguished from gold or bronze".[50]

Being broken at both ends and victim to overall corrosion, the identification of NM Ant 892 is tentatively a *spathomela*. A few instruments show features resembling those of NM Ant 892, such as two *spathomele* from Ephesos and Idalion,[51] a few from Delos[52] as well as one example from Pompeii.[53] Bliquez describes this style of probe as that of a garfish snout, and says that this type is "conspicuously rare" among the collections of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.[54] A closer dating than to the time of the Roman Empire is not possible. Worth notice is that this piece is said to have come from mainland Greece and the islands, and aside from the one example from Pompeii, those examples I have been able to find are from the eastern part of the Roman Empire. It may be speculated that this represents a style typical of this part of the Empire. Let it be noted, however, that one aspect that may affect this speculation is whether or not probes and minor instruments were included in trade between the different areas of the Empire.

Conclusion

Probes in general are common, and they were employed both in medical practice and in domestic and layman use. Where stylistic parallels to NM Ant 623–626 and 993 are available, they are generally dated from A.D. 1st to 3rd centuries. Styles of minor instruments appear not to have changed drastically through the centuries, and the dilemma of trying to date probes has been noted by others.[55] With this in mind, the dating of these probes, either individually or as a possible set, cannot be placed more precisely than to A.D. 1st to 3rd centuries.

This study produced no definite contextual indications that can link the shape and decor of the probes of the Medelhavsmuseet to any specific use. Due to the lack of better knowledge of the context from which NM Ant 623–626, 642 and 993 come, it is impossible to say for sure in which way they were used, which would lead other scientists to classify them as cosmetic

Digitized by Google

utensils. It is my opinion, however, that due to the individual characteristics of these probes that I have focused on, such as the edge of the blade of NM Ant 624, the slenderness of the tips of NM Ant 625 and 993 and the shaft of NM Ant 626, it is very possible that NM Ant 623–626 and 993 were of shapes especially suited for medical and surgical practice. It is also my belief that these five probes were the five probes listed as a set of doctor's instruments in the register of the Landberg donations.

NM Ant 642, with no other co-finds, can only be identified as a *spathomela* of domestic use. If it could be proved that the corrosion of ferrous oxides on the piece was caused by corroded iron objects, it could be ascertained that it was originally buried, if at all from a grave context, together with other instruments made of iron.

The results of the metal analysis show that NM Ant 642 is made of brass rather than bronze. The levels of zinc and lead are such as those found in ancient metals, and thus allow for a dating to Antiquity. Brass of this type of composition can also be found in more modern brass, however, and thus does not make a classical dating definite. The shape of NM Ant 642 does none the less agree well with other examples of of ancient *spathomele,* making an antique rather than a modern placing more likely.

I have also identified NM Ant 892 as a *spathomela* of "garfish" type. It is possible that this style was of Eastern origin. More cannot be said of this piece.

Lastly, let it be noted that Künzl has claimed that the publication of minor instrument collections lacking find context, precise provenance or proper documentation in general are unnecessary, as these instruments are extremely common.[56] It is, however, my opinion that as many museums probably have large collections of Graeco-Roman minor instruments, the publishing of these would allow for researchers to see 1) just how common certain minor instruments are, and 2) the extent to which form and decor vary for such minor instruments. It is also possible that other, more precise medical instruments are present in those collections, considered of "less importance". In this study, for instance, the twisted shaft of NM Ant 626 appears to be a rare type of decor. The possibility that other examples of this type of

Digitized by Google

decor may exist among the many unpublished probes is unsatisfying for this study.

Jennifer Randolph
Laxgatan 1, 162
SE-133 43 Saltsjöbaden

Appendix I
The Metal Analysis of NM Ant 642

NM Ant 642 was subject to metal analysis at *Riksantikvarieämbetets analysavdelning* (The Department of Metal Analysis and Archaeological Conservation of the Central Board of National Antiquities) by Anders G. Nord and Kate Tronner.[57] The purpose of the analysis was to 1) determine the metal composition of the piece, 2) to check for traces of pigment or the like on the points of the piece, 3) to analyze the gold coloured spot and 4) to analyze the two red coloured spots.

1) The method used for determining metal compostion was X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy, performed on both sides of the blade. The results showed the metal to consist of 80% copper, 18% zinc and 2% lead. The piece is covered with a layer of corrosion, 1/4 mm thick. Since this was not allowed to be removed, the results allow for a 2% uncertainity for copper and zinc. There was no trace of pewter. The metal composition of NM Ant 642 should thus rightly be defined as brass.

2) The points of NM Ant 642 were analyzed seperately using a scanning electron microscope with energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence spectrometry. The results showed corrosion products such as copper salts, zinc compounds, ferrous oxide hydroxides, as well as minerals such as quartz, calcium and felspar. Also noted were a c. 3–5% concentration of sulphur, and a 1% concentration each of clorine and phosphorus. No trace of pigment was found.

3) The gold coloured spot on the middle of the shaft is somewhat lower than the surrounding corrosion layer. For some

Digitized by Google

reason, corrosion is not present here, and it is the original brass surface shining through.

4) The two red spots are composed of high concentrations of iron oxides, causing the red colour.

Bibliography

Classical sources

Celsus	*De Medicina*, transl. by W.G. Spencer (Loeb ed., vols. 2 & 3), London.1938.
Galen	*Galen On Anatomical Procedures*, transl. by C. Singer, London 1956.
Hippocrates	*Hippocrates*, transl. by E.T. Withington (Loeb ed., vol. 3), London 1959.
Paulus Aegineta	*The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, transl. by F. Adams, London 1844–1847.
Paulus Aegineta	*Paulus Aegineta* (CGM 9, vol. 2), ed. I.L. Heiberg, Lipsiae 1924.

General sources

Bliquez 1982	L.J. Bliquez, 'Roman Surgical Instruments in the Johns Hopkins University Institute of the History of Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 2, 1982, 195–217.
Bliquez 1988	L.J. Bliquez, *Roman Surgical Instruments and Minor Objects in the University of Mississippi*, Göteborg 1988.
Bliquez 1994	L.J. Bliquez, *Roman Surgical Instruments and Other Minor Objects in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples*, Mainz 1994.
Blümner 1885–1887	H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* 1–4, Leipzig 1885–1887.
Buckler & Caton 1914	W.H. Buckler & C. Caton, 'Account of a Group of Medical and Surgical Instruments found at Kolophon', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 7, Part 2, 1914, 235–242.
Craddock 1978	P.T. Craddock, 'The Composition of the Copper Alloys used by the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Civilisations. 3. The Origins and Early Uses of Brass. *JRA* 5, 1978, 1–16.
Feugère, Künzl & Weisser 1985	M. Feugère, E. Künzl & U. Weisser, 'Les aiguilles à Weisser cataracte de Montbellet (Saônek-et-Loire) – Contribution à l'étude de l'ophtalmologie antique et islamique – Die Starnadeln von Montbellet (Saônek-et-Loire) – Ein Beitrag zur antiken und islamischen Augenheilkunde', *JRGZM* 32, 1985, 436–508.
Hassel & Künzl 1980	F.J. Hassel & E. Künzl. 'Ein römisches Artzgrab des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus Kleinasien', *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 15, 1980, 403–412.
Heymans 1979	H. Heymans, 'Eine Hülse mit Artzinstrumenten aus Maaseik', *ArchKorrBl* 9, 1979, 97–100.
Jackson 1986	R. Jackson, 'A set of Roman Medical Instruments from Italy'. *Britannia* 17, 1986, 119–167.
Künzl 1979–1981	E. Künzl, 'Medizinische Instrumente aus dem römischen Altertum im städtischen Museum Worms', *Der Wormsgau* 13, 1979–1981, 49–63.

Digitized by Google

Künzl 1982	E. Künzl, 'Medizinische Instrumente aus Sepulchralfunden der römischen Kaiserzeit', *BJb* 182, 1982, 1–137.
Künzl 1986	E. Künzl, 'Operationsräume in römischen Thermen. Zu einem chirurgischen Instrumentarium aus der Colonia Ulpia Traiana, mit einem Auswahlkatalog römischer medizinischer Instrumente im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn', *Bjb* 186, 1986, 491-509.
Meddelanden	*Meddelanden från Nationalmuseet 1, 1881*, Stockholm 1982
Michaelides 1984	D. Michaelides, 'A Roman Surgeon's Tomb from Nea Paphos', *RDAC* 1984, 315–332.
Milne 1907	J.S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*, Aberdeen 1907
Rediscovering Pompeii	*Rediscovering Pompeii*, Exhibition Catalogue, Roma 1990.
Riha 1986	E. Riha, *Römisches Toilettgerät und medizinische Instrumente aus Augst und Kaiseraugst*, Forschungen in Augst 6, Augst 1986.
Römer an Mosel und Saar	Die Römer an Mosel und Saar. Zeugnisse der Römerzeit in Lothringen, in Luxembourg, im Raum Trier und im Saland, ed. H. Cüppers, Mainz am Rhein 1983.
Sáenz de Buruaga García de Soto 1946	J.A. Sáenz de Buruaga & J. García de Soto,'Nuevas aportaciones al estudio de la Necrópolis Oriental de Mérida', *ArchEsp* 19, 1946, 70–85.

[1] Milne 1907.
[2] "NM antika vaser, m.m.", see Nationalmusei Nämnds Protokoll, March 7, 1881.
[3] Jackson 1986, 128.
[4] Meddelanden, 5.
[5] See Nationalmusei Nämnds Protokoll, March 7, 1881.
[6] See Nationalmusei Nämnds Protokoll, January 23, 1881.
[7] Meddelanden, 5.
[8] Riha 1986, 33–78, esp. 56–78
[9] Blümner 1887, 457; Künzl 1982, 58 – § *Gallia Aquitania*
[10] Künzl 1982, 6; Milne 1907, 62.
[11] Künzl 1982, 5, 40.
[12] Milne 1907, 171; for examples, see Riha 1986, 43–49.
[13] Hippocratic Corpus, *Περι των εν κεφαλη τρωματων*, sections x, xxi.
[14] Celsus, *Med.*, sections v.28, vi.9.3, vii.8.1.
[15] Paulus Aegineta, *Πραγματεια*, section 6.13.
[16] Gal., *Ανατομικαι εγχειρησεις*, 9.1.
[17] Bliquez 1988, 22f; Künzl 1982, 6.
[18] Künzl 1986, 498.
[19] Bliquez 1988, 22–23.
[20] Milne 1907, 60.
[21] Bliquez 1994, 52.
[22] See Buckler & Caton 1914, 235ff, fig. 4 no. 18; Sáenz de Buruaga & García de Soto 1946, 72f, fig. 1 & 2; Hassel & Künzl 1980, 409 no. 36; Künzl 1982, 45–48, 106f; Michaelides 1984, 316 no. 5; Jackson 1986, 129 no. 27; Bliquez 1994, 52f, 16 1f. This must, of course, exclude all of the many fragmentary probes showing only an olivary tip, which may originally have been *dipyrene*. Let it also be noted that there may be some inconsistencies in Künzl's (1982) article regarding the names given for this type of probe, which he translates as *Doppelsonde*. While admitting that there are different types of *dipyrene*, Künzl does not seem to be in agreement with Milne on what instruments can be classified as a *dipyrene*, and appears to include only the thin, even type by this name. He lists the probes fea-

Digitized by Google

turing two olivary tips of different sizes, one from Ephesos (49–52 *Asia* 2 fig. 1–4) and the other from Reims (61–65 *Gallia Belgica* 3, fig. 35–24) listed as "Sonden und Nadeln" and "Sonde, wohl Löffelsonde (abgebrochen; Nr. 24)," respectively. It is therefore possible that there are more *dipyrene* present in finds where Künzl only mentions probes in genreral.

[23] Jackson 1986, 157.

[24] Bliquez 1994, 52.

[25] Michaelides 1984, 325.

[26] Milne 1907, 166f; Michaelides 1984, 330.

[27] See Fig. 2; see also Milne 1907, 169; Sáenz de Buruaga & García de Soto 1946, fig. 1 & 2; Heymans 1979, 97ff; Künzl 1982, 58, 74, 88, 96, 108f, as well as fig. 82–84, 96; Michaelides 1984, 316, fig. 1; Feugère, Künzl & Weisser 1985, 436f, 503f, as well as pl. 57.1 and 57.3; Bliquez 1994, 2 item "G", 78, 86f, 192, 194, 203f, and pl. 23b.

[28] Bliquez 1994, 48,145-152, 202-205, no. 145–184, A 4–6, A 16.

[29] Künzl 1982, 91-93 *Germania Inferior* 7.

[30] Künzl 1982, 103-104 *Italia* 1. This example, however, has two raised rings on the shaft, a common feature for the *cyathiscomela.*

[31] Bliquez 1988, 45 no. 37.

[32] Bliquez 1994, 6, 46–47, 135–144, 215.

[33] Michaelides 1984, 316 no. 4.

[34] Rediscovering Pompeii, 157 no. 31.

[35] Jackson 1986, 119, 129 no. 34, 166; see Bliquez 1994, 6, 46f, 135ff, 215 for exampes of the more rounded blade, and no. 112 for the octagonal shaft.

[36] Bliquez 1994, 52–53, 161–162; Künzl 1982, 45–48 *Asia* no.1, 106-107 *Italia* 6; Sáenz de Buruaga & García de Soto 1946, 72–73, fig. 1 & 2; Michaelides 1984, 316 no. 5; Jackson 1986, 129 no. 27; Buckler & Caton 1914, 235–242, fig. 4 no. 18.

[37] Bliquez 1994.

[38] Michaelides 1984, 316 no. 5.

[39] Jackson 1986, 129 no. 27.

[40] Sáenz de Buruaga & García de Soto 1946, 72f, fig. 1 & 2; Hassel & Künzl 1980, 409 no. 36; Künzl 1982, 28, 49ff, fig. 17, 61ff, fig. 35, 106f; Michaelides 1984, 316 no. 5; Jackson 1986, 129 no. 27; Riha 1986, pl. 49 no. 532–553 for possible fragmentary *dipyrene*; Bliquez 1994, 52f, 161f.

[41] See Künzl 1982, 98f; Michaelides 1984, 316 no. 7; Jackson 1986, 129; Bliquez 1994, 48ff, 154ff, 202, 205.

[42] Künzl 1979–1981, 49–63.

[43] Römer an Mosel und Saar, 272 no. 232c.

[44] Künzl 1979–1981, 49–63 no. 50 and 65; Riha 1986: pl. 27.

[45] Künzl 1986, 497 pl. 5, third from the bottom.

[46] Bliquez 1994, 46f, 138–140; Künzl 1982, 61-66 *Gallia Belgica* 3, 72–73 *Gallia Belgica* 11, 80–84 *Germania Superior* 4, 89–90 *Germania Inferior* 5, 98–99 *§ Germania Inferior* Cologne; Riha 1986, 74, pl. 50; Bliquez 1988, 30 no. 33, fig 5.

[47] Bliquez 1982, figs. 2 and 16.

[48] For similar examples, see Künzl 1982, 61, 72, 80, 89, 98, also figs. 19 and 23; Riha 1986, 74; Bliquez 1994, 46f, 138ff.

[49] Craddock 1978, 9ff; Bliquez 1988, 17f.

[50] Craddock 1978, 8.

[51] Künzl 1982, 51, fig. 19, 55, fig. 23.

[52] Deonna 1938, pls. 599–601, esp. 601.

[53] Rediscovering Pompeii, 157–159 no. 33.

[54] Bliquez 1994, 46.

[55] Bliquez 1982, 29; Michaelides 1984, 331.

[56] Künzl 1986, 501.

[57] Riksantikvarieämbetets analysavdelning, analys nr. RIK-A-5033

Digitized by Google

The Rawzat al-Ahbâb fî Siyar al-Nabî wa al-Âhl wa al-Ashâb In the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities

MARIANNE BOQVIST

Since the mid-seventies the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm has possessed a manuscript of the *Rawzat al-Ahbâb fî Siyar al-Nabî wa al-Âhl wa al-Ashâb.*[1] This manuscript was previously in the collection of Dr. Georg von Békésy,[2] a Hungarian-born scientist who, in 1961, received the Nobel Prize for Physiology and Medicine. Dr. von Békésy was also known for his distinguished collection of art, particularly "exotic art", to which this manuscript belonged. After his death, the collection was bequeathed to the Nobel Foundation,[3] who in their turn deposited the manuscript in the Museum's collection of Islamic art.

The information available in the Museum about this manuscript consists of Dr. von Békésy's own notes. Purchased in the United States in 1956–57 for $ 2500, it was, he believed, a Persian manuscript dating from the 16th century, with ten miniatures and an illuminated double frontispiece. The main objective of this paper is to examine these claims by a brief codicological study of the manuscript and a stylistic and iconographic study of its miniatures.[4]

The work entitled *Rawzat al-Ahbâb fî Siyar al-Nabî wa al-Âhl wa al-Ashâb* was written by *Amîr Jamâl al-Dîn 'Atâ'Allâh ibn Fadl Allâh al-Husaynî al-Dashtâkî al-Shirâzî* (known as *Jamâl al-Husainî*),[5] at *Amîr Alî Shîr Nava'i* 's request and under the supervision of his uncle and teacher, *Asîl al-Dîn Abd Allâh al-Hu-*

Digitized by Google

saynî.[6] The whole work, which comprises three volumes, was completed in 900 AH (1494–95), in Herât.[7]

The manuscript we are dealing with contains only the first volume, which is divided into three chapters. The first chapter describes the genealogy of Muhammad, starting with the pre-Islamic patriarchs and prophets; the second concerns Muhammad's biography; the third is divided into eight parts, on the following seventeen subjects: the wives of the Prophet, his children, his superiority and his miracles, his pious observations, his habits, his privileges, his slaves and freed slaves, his nurses, his governors, his scribes, his messengers, his muezzins, his poets and his orators.[8]

The second volume, which is about the companions of the Prophet, is divided into two chapters. The first one is devoted to the male companions, in particular the first three Caliphs, *Abu Bakr*, *Umâr* and *Uthmân*. The second concerns his female companions.

The third volume deals with the followers of the companions and their successors. It also concerns *Alî*, the fourth Caliph and the twelve imams, and then enumerates the famous companions of the Prophet in alphabetical order.[9]

A brief codicological description

The manuscript is protected by an envelope binding of dark red leather (measuring 265 by 160 mm), with a gilded medallion decoration on its upper and lower covers. It bears some traces of restoration. The medallion is of an elongated shape which is common on 18th-century Ottoman bindings.[10]

The folios of the manuscript (266 by 165 mm) are slightly bigger than the covers of the binding. The paper is quite thin, brownish-yellow in colour, polished, with irregular fibres and is probably of oriental provenance. It is identical in most of the manuscript, with only a few exceptions, some of which will be mentioned later. The paper shows traces of restoration on the first and last pages, in the upper and lower parts of the margins and in the foldings of bifolios. There are also traces of worm and damp. The lack of some claims in the lower margin suggests

Digitized by Google

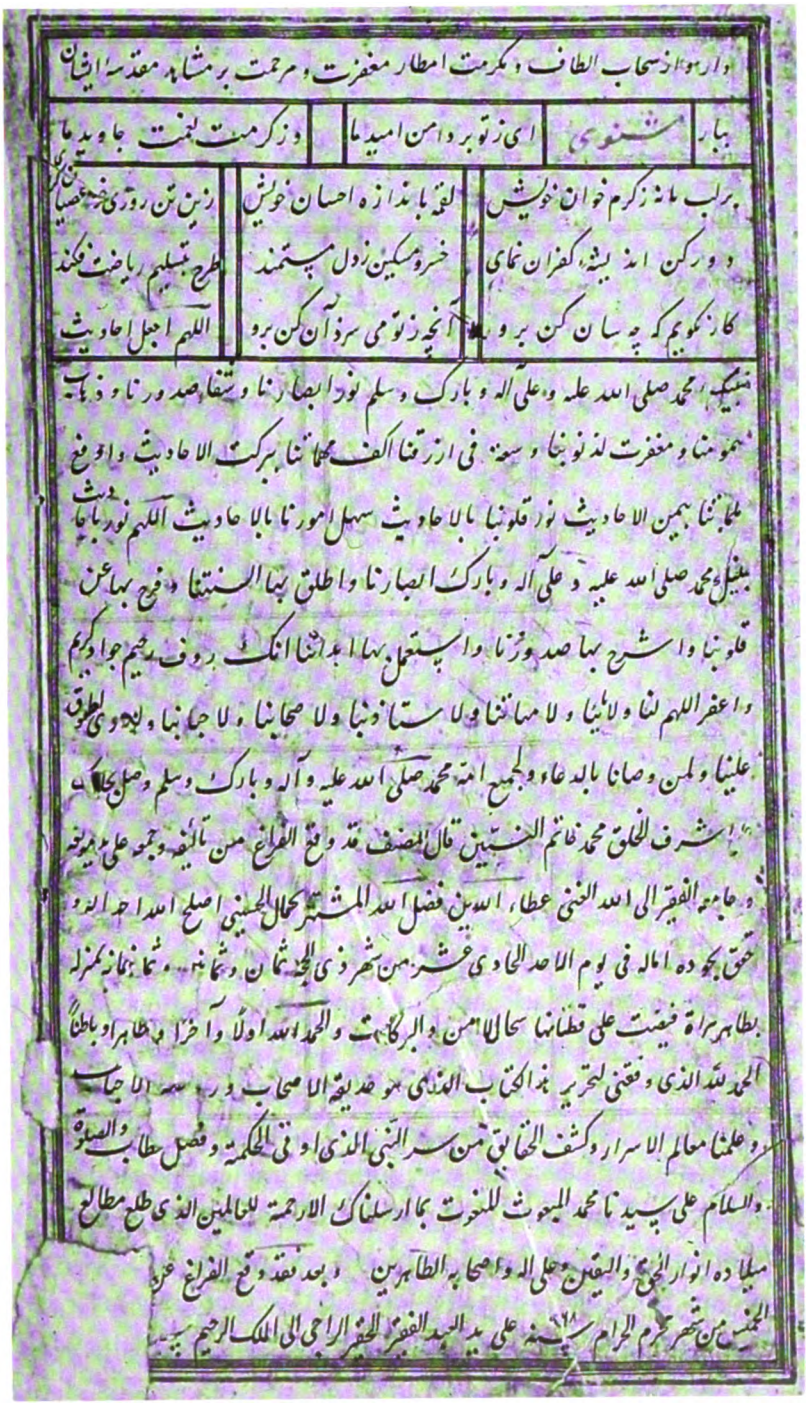


Fig. 1. The last page of the manuscript, Békésy 1956.05.

adjustments to the margins and since some of the claims have been reversed, the binding has probably been restored. The manuscript contains 436 folios written *recto verso* which are put together in *quaternions*, quires of four folded sheets.

Digitized by Google

Fig. 2–3. The double frontispiece.

The text of *Rawzat al-Ahbâb* is entirely written in the *nasta'liq* style, mostly with black ink, but some words, and occasionally entire phrases, are written or underlined with blue, red or gold-coloured ink (*Fig. 1*). The stencil is of 21 lines per page, except for the double frontispiece, which has only seven lines and the illustrated pages, where there are some lines of calligraphy, above or under the illustration. Calligraphy and miniatures are enclosed in a frame (185 by 105 mm), which is composed of an external, thin, blue line and an inner, gilded line, separated by an intermediate space, where the brownish-yellow colour of the paper is left unpainted.

There is an obvious difference between the calligraphic quality of the double frontispiece and the rest of the written work. In the first case the calligraphy is of very good quality, similar to calligraphy of the 16th century (*Fig. 2–3*). In the second case, it shows affinities with calligraphy from the 18th century.[11] The

Digitized by Google

original margins of this frontispiece have been removed; this can easily be established by observing the borders of the decoration, which clearly show that they are pasted onto these papers. This can also be inferred from the lack of finials, the decorative sprouts which are usually present in the margins of this kind of illumination and which have been cut out here.

The page of seals contains three seals and four inscriptions (one seal is situated in the upper margin of folios 260–67), of which only two are legible (*Fig. 4*). One is in the middle of the lower part of the page and indicates the stencil of 21 lines, together with the complete name of the work. The other one is located in the upper left-hand part of the paper, indicating the price of 1 *tumân* and 8000 *dinâr*, which is a Persian, probably Qajar currency. This page may be a later addition to the manuscript, since the paper has a different texture from that of the rest of the written work.

Fig. 4. The page of seals.

The colophon mentions that this copy of the manuscript contains the first volume of the *Rawzat al-Ahbâb* and that this particular manuscript was completed in 968 AH (AD 1561) by the calligrapher *Mushtahed al-Fawîr*. Unfortunately, the colophon does not indicate where or at whose request it was executed, nor does it mention the name of the painter.[12]

An iconographical, compositional and stylistic analysis

Since there is neither a complete translation of the *Rawzat al-Ahbâb* into any western language nor another illustrated copy of this work, the iconographic analysis of the miniatures becomes a difficult task.[13] Some traditional themes of composition from Islamic miniature painting can be recognised in the illustrations. For the iconographic analysis, translated parts of the text will be used as a clue to the meaning of the illustration.[14]

A double frontispiece frames the foreword on folio 1 b and 2 a and their composition is almost identical (*Fig. 2–3*). In its centre there is a square containing the text in cloud-formed, golden frames on a background of thin red lines forming squares, sprinkled with

Digitized by Google

blue dots and green and golden leaves. This square is included in a rectangular composition, together with two horizontal and two vertical rectangles. This central part of the frontispiece is framed by a polylobe, zigzag-patterned border. Coloration is used to emphasise the interplay of geometrical forms, alternately using blue and gold and a brightly coloured flower vine, making different movements.

The double frontispiece is very similar to those which were made in Iran and Central Asia from the Timurid period (14th century) on.[15] The decoration and calligraphy are of high quality. Since it has been established that they are not on their original paper, they may have originated from another manuscript.

The miniatures can be divided into two categories; indoor and outdoor scenes. The indoor scenes are always composed of a floor and a background wall, without showing the sidewalls. A sense of two-dimensionality is created by an intensification of the background colour in the centre of the picture. In the exterior scenes, this two-dimensionality is obtained by a mountain inserted between the lawn and the sky, separating the back- and the foreground. The flame halo, which is used to indicate the centre of the scene, has been the distinctive mark of a prophet since the 15th century in Persian painting.[16]

Folio 28 a. (*Fig. 5*). A prophet sitting on a throne-like seat, placed between two groups of men, forms the centre of this miniature. Before him is an old woman holding a thread in her hand and a merchant holding a pair of scales. A woman is watching the scene from her window, above left.

The name *Yusuf* is written in the text and this miniature contains all elements usually present in the representation of "*Yusuf* in the slave market".[17] This leads us to the conclusion that the young prophet is *Yusuf* and that the woman in the window is probably *Zulaykha*.

Folio 57 b. (*Fig. 6*). This indoor scene shows a young man sitting on a carpet. He is surrounded by three men and is in conversation with one of them. A woman is watching the scene

Digitized by Google

from a window in the left-hand corner of the background.

The text mentions the *face of a king*. The composition of this scene recalls the usual representation of a "young prince in discussion" but leaves us uncertain about the meaning of the depicted subject.[18]

Folio 127 a. (*Fig. 7*). In the foreground of this scene, a flame-haloed prophet is riding a camel in front of his troops. Behind, there is a mountain forming the limit of the background; there is a group of soldiers on the right-hand side and a group of civilians on the left-hand side.

According to the text, "*The prophet's followers were cut off from a water source by an obstacle, which put the water on the enemies' side. The devil intervenes*". This text recalls the context of the battle of Badr, but the composition is also very similar to a representation of a battle between *Abbas ibn Alî* and the Umayyades.[19]

Folio 177 a. (*Fig. 8*). A duel between a young prophet and an old warrior is the main subject of this illustration. The old warrior stands beside his injured horse, ready to defend himself. A river runs horizontally through the scene, emphasizing the division usually indicated only by a mountain. In the background, two groups of men are shown on each side of a polygonal, domed building. The man on the extreme right is haloed, and is pointing to the duel in the foreground.

According to the text "*The pagan says : We have the best of religions, the one practised by people who breed camels and who worship idols, the one that we have been taught by our parents*". If we presume that the old warrior is the pagan, the young warrior is *Alî* and the haloed man in the background is Muhammad, which means that this miniature may represent either the Battle of Hunayn, when *Alî* had to come to the Prophet's rescue, or the Battle of the Ditch, when the Meccans were besieging Medina and Ali jumped over the ditch to fight with one of the Meccans, *Amr ibn al-Wudd*.[20] The miniature is very similar to the composition of several representations on the theme of *"The battle of the tribes"* and to the illustration of *Abbas ibn Alî* chasing the Umayyades (supra, folio 127 a).[21]

Digitized by Google

Fig. 5. Folio 28 a.

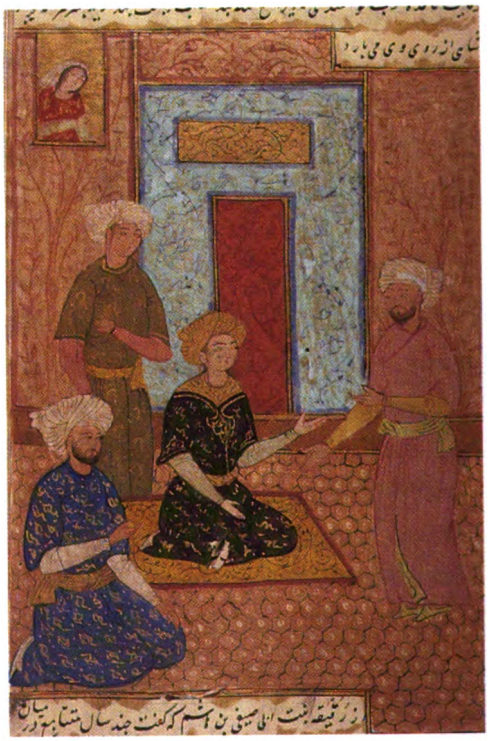


Fig. 6. Folio 57 b.

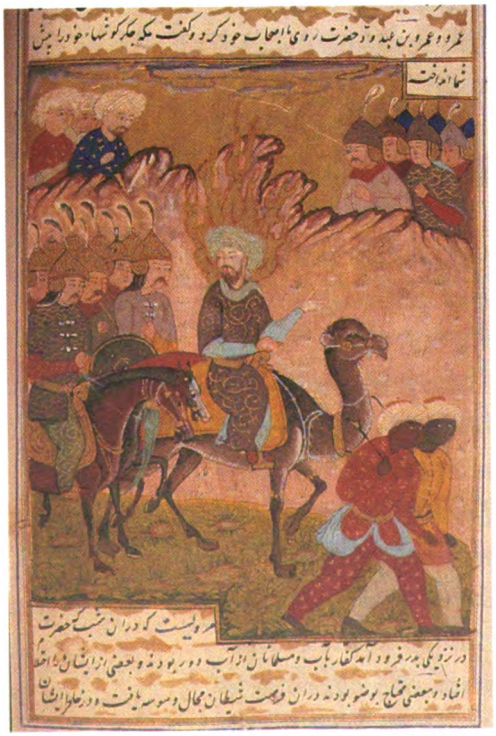


Fig. 7. Folio 127 a.

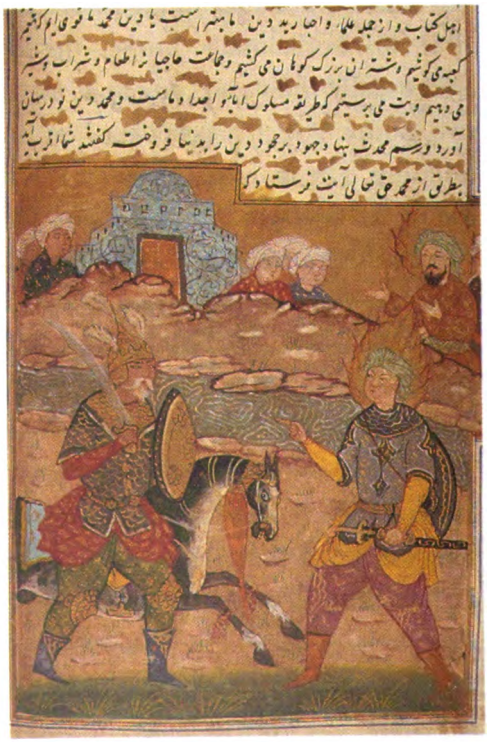


Fig. 8. Folio 177 a.

Digitized by Google

Fig. 9. Folio 211 b.

Fig. 10. Folio 244 a.

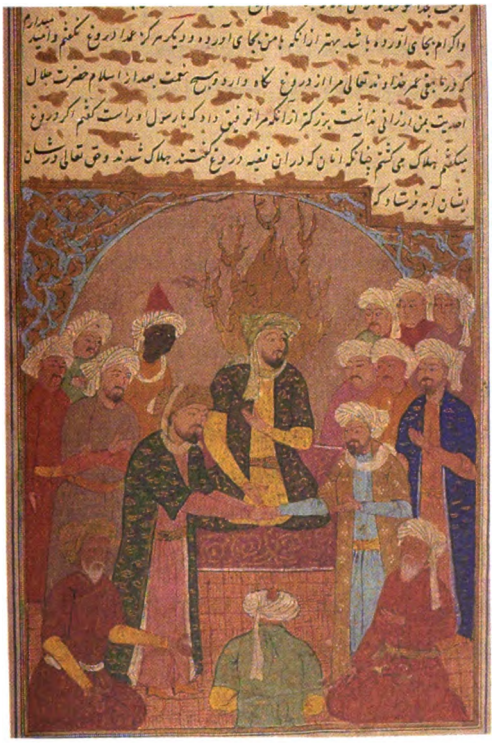


Fig. 11. Folio 300 a.

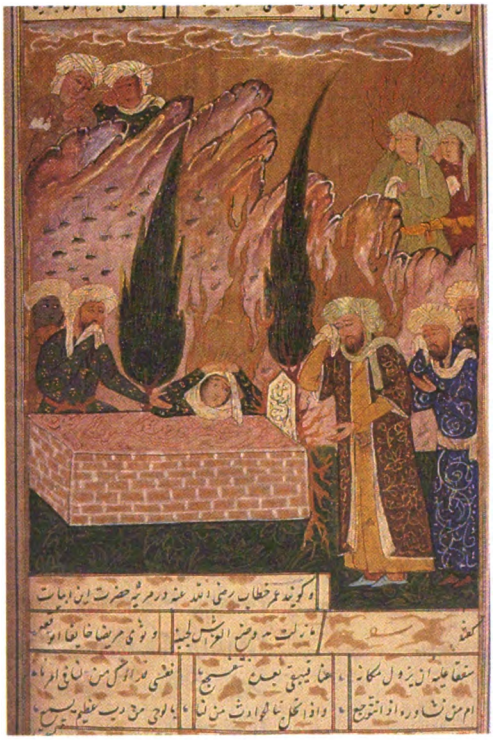


Fig. 12. Folio 343 a.

Digitized by Google

Folio 211 b. (*Fig. 9*). The main scene of this illustration shows a couple sleeping in a bed. On the floor on their right-hand side, between two candlesticks, sits a sleeping guard. From the left side, a man holding a knife in his hand is sneaking into the room.

This scene has a compositional tradition as "the moment preceding a murder", but it is difficult to attach it to the iconography of the Prophet's life. This kind of scene was frequently used at the beginning of the 16th century and became a stereotype for showing strong feelings or dramatic incidents.[22]

Folio 244 a. (*Fig. 10*). In this miniature, two men are sitting in front of a tent . They seem to be giving quite a warm reception to a man dressed as a civilian brought to them by two soldiers.

The text mentions *Rasûl Allah* (the Prophet) and *Umâr*.[23] The composition of this miniature can be related to a scene representing "The forgiveness of *Akrama*".[24] *Akrama* was the son of *Abu Jahl*, one of the most ferocious enemies of the Muslims in Mecca. When Mecca was defeated, he wanted to escape, but his wife asked Muhammad to forgive him. He was brought to the Prophet and asked him for forgiveness for all the pain he had caused the Muslims. Shortly after this, he converted to Islam.

Folio 300 a. (*Fig. 11*). A prophet is sitting in the centre of this scene, under an arch. He is flanked on both sides by onlookers. Before him, two diagonal lines with three men in each form a triangle, which is closed by a man kneeling in front of the prophet, turning his back to us.

According to the text, "*A liar says: I wish that the good Lord will prevent me from lying again; men who lie destroy themselves*". This text recalls either the *Muhabhala* (believers of different religions praying together and evoking a curse on the false religion) between the Muslims and the Christian tribe from Najran or a "Santa Conversazione" between the prophet and his companions.[25] Both these cases may have been used to indicate the belief of the commander (or the painter) of the manuscript. The composition looks like a royal scene or a trial.[26]

Digitized by Google

Folio 343 a. (*Fig. 12*). A coffin, the Prophet's cenotaph, emitting flames (indicating the presence of the Prophet), is the centre of this illustration. A haloed woman is kneeling behind it and beside her is a black man (probably *Bilal*, the first muezzin). Three other haloed persons are present in the picture, two young men in the background and one of the four men in the foreground. All six of these are holding handkerchiefs in their hands.

The names of *Fâtima*, *Alî* and *Umâr* are written in the text. This illustration shows the lamentation of Muhammad.[27] The four haloed persons are the "*Holy Family*" (*Fâtima*, *Alî*, *Hassan* and *Husain*). The six men holding handkerchiefs are probably the four caliphs and the sons of *Alî* and *Fâtima*.[28] Even though the interpretation of this scene is quite clear, the joint presence of these two groups, religiously and politically important in early Islam, makes the interpretation of its religious and social meaning somewhat difficult. The detail of the handkerchiefs held by *Hassan* and *Husain* may indicate that this manuscript was made in a Shi'ite context.[29]

Folio 379 a. (*Fig. 13*). This outdoor scene is only one-dimensional, showing a boat with eleven passengers, some animals and a sailor holding the sails on the prow. It comes into the frame from the right, the sea is very blue and contains a lot of fish.

This may be the boat taking the ten, chosen, righteous believers to paradise, together with the Prophet, another scene often used to express the orderer's belief in the choice of "the chosen".[30]

Folio 415 b. (*Fig. 14*).Two men are standing in a steplike landscape. The haloed one is reaching out his hand towards an animal. There is a red flower beside this animal, which is the only representation of a flower in this manuscript.

The meaning of this scene may be found in the numerous stories about the miracles of the Prophet, for instance, the story of the talking gazelle, or it may be a representation of the Prophet as the man who puts the world in bloom.[31]

Folio 413 b. (*Fig. 15*). Apart from the miniatures there is a talismanic design made in golden ink with *nasta'liq* inscriptions in

Digitized by Google

Fig. 13. Folio 379 a.

Fig. 14. Folio 415 b.

blue ink in this manuscript. At first, the shape brings representations of the holy precinct in Mecca (Masjîd al-Haram) to mind.[32] After comparison with three other copies of the *Rawzat al-Ahbâb*, all of them containing a similar design, it becomes clear that the Persian word, *na'al*, sandal, is repeated several times in the text.[33] This leads us to the conclusion that what we have here is a representation of the Prophet's sandal.[34]

Concerning the style of the miniatures, they are quite coherent and are primarily characterised by a certain flatness and by a low baseline.[35] An impression of two-dimensionality is, as mentioned above, created either by an intensification of colour in the background or by a mountain placed between the background and the foreground. The palette of the miniatures features greyish-pink, blues and light green for the backgrounds, shades of brown-

Digitized by Google

ish colours for the floors, tones from yellow to dark green for the grass, beige for the mountains and gold for the skies, with only one exception (folio 244 a, *Fig. 10*).[36] The golden sky is commonly used to emphasize the supernatural character of an illustration, especially in the school of Bukhara, but also in both Persia and Turkey.[37] The style of the depiction of vegetation and the cloth decoration show a certain simplicity, both in colour and in composition.

Furthermore, the main characters' S-shaped bodies float weightlessly in the scenes. They wear big turbans and are seen in three-quarter profile, and some young men even wear the scrolls, characteristic of safavid painting, at their temple. All these elements are very similar to the style of two lacquer boxes from the Cologne and the Berlin museums.[38] These boxes have been stated to be Qajar works by Eva Baer. This particular style has also attracted the attention of B.W. Robinson in an article on Qajar lacquer painting. He calls the style "pseudo-Safavid".[39] Relations with the Turkish miniature painting can be observed in the depiction of onlookers, who are smaller and heavier. This is also the case with the compositional organisation of the miniatures, the mountains, and the quite cold and pale nuances of coloration applied in thick layers.

The composition and style of decorative elements in the miniatures can be clearly distinguised from the delicately designed frontispieces. A stylistic analysis of the miniatures also confirms the doubts about the date of their execution. These doubts are due to the mixture of styles from different geographical and chronological spheres. Some of their stylistic elements can be recognized in 17th-, 18th- and 19th-century painting in Persia under the Qajars and in painting of this same period in Ottoman Turkey.

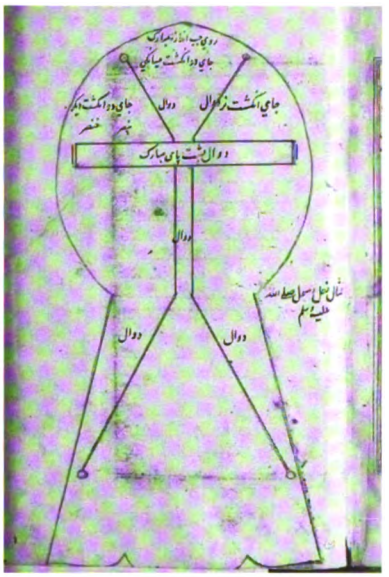


Fig. 15. Folio 413 b.

Most elements of the codicological study of the *Rawzat-al Ahbâb fi Siyar alNabî wa al-Âhl wa al-Ashâb* in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities indicate that the actual date of this manuscript may be later than 1561 and that the manuscript has been restored at least once.

The frontispieces probably date from the 16th century and may thus be from 1561. The difference in the quality of the cal-

Digitized by Google

ligraphy between the frontispieces and the rest of the written work and the fact that the paper to which they are glued has a different texture from the papers in the text-block indicate that they come from another manuscript and have been inserted in the binding at a later date. It is therefore not possible to date the manuscript from the frontispieces.

The iconographic interpretation may be important in searching for the orderer of this manuscript. The miniatures seem to illustrate the text, indicating that the painter was somehow related to the calligrapher or that he knew Persian. The presence of *Alî* and his family, especially in the lamentation scene, may indicate a Shi'ite patron.

The most probable solution is that this manuscript is a copy of a manuscript written in 1561, which would explain the presence of this date in the colophon and the anomalies in style and iconography. I would propose 18th- or 19th-century Iran or Turkey as the country of origin, where this kind of atelier was common.

Marianne Boqvist
29, rue du Mail
FR-75002 Paris

Bibliography

'Abdullah Yusuf 1989 — Ali 'Abdullah Yusuf, *The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary*, reprod. Brentwood, Maryland 1989.

Adamova 1992 — A. Adamova, 'Repetition of Compositions in Manuscripts: The Khamsa of Nizamî in Leningrad', in: *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century. Selected Papers from the Symposium Timurid and Turkman Societies in Transition*, eds. L. Golombek & M. Subtelny, Leiden 1992, 67–74.

Akimushkin & Ivanov 1979 — O.F. Akimushkin & A.A. Ivanov, *The Art of Illumination, The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. B. Gray, London 1979, 36–53.

And 1974 — M. And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul 1974.

Baer 1992 — E. Baer, 'Traditionalism or Forgery: A note on Persian lacquer painting', *Artibus Asiae* 55:3/4, 1992, 343-379.

Bayle 1992 — M.H. Bayle, *Les représentations des lieux saints dans les guides de pelerinage musulman du XVIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Mémoire de DEA, Paris IV-Sorbonne. Nov 1992.

Digitized by Google

Berlin 1984	*Orientalische illustrierte Handschriften aus Museen und Bibliotheken der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Ausstellung im Islamischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Hauptstadt der DDR, Berlin 1984.
Blochet 1905–34	E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Vols. I & IV, Paris 1905–34
Bosch, Carswell & Petersbridge 1981	G. Bosch, J. Carswell & G. Petersbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking, A Catalogue of an Exhibition*, The Oriental Institute of Chicago, May 18 to August 18, 1981.
Browne 1969	E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, Cambridge University Press 1969.
Buhl 1993	F. Buhl, A.T. Welch & A.M. Schimmel, 'Muhammed', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, Nouvelle Édition, Vol 7, Paris & Leiden 1993, 363–379.
Çagman & Tanindi 1996	F. Çagman & Z. Tanindi, 'Remarks on some manuscripts from the Topkapi Palace Treasury in the context of Ottoman – Safavid relations', *Muqarnas* 13, 1996, 132–145.
Diba 1989	L.S. Diba, 'Persian Painting in the eighteenth century: Tradition and Transmission', *Muqarnas* 6, 1989, 147–158.
Flügel 1977	G. Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der K.U.K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Vol. II. Hildesheim & New York 1977.
Gray 1961	B. Gray, *Persian Painting*, Lausanne 1961.
Inal 1979	G. Inal , 'Realistic Motifs in Safavid Miniatures', *Akten des III Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie*, Munich, 7–10 September 1976, AMIran, Erg. 6, Berlin 1976, 438–448.
Meredith-Owens 1969	G.M. Meredith-Owens, 'A Copy of the Rawzat al-Sawfa with Turkish Miniatures', in *Paintings from Islamic Lands, Oriental Studies 4*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson, Glasgow 1969, 110–123.
Nagel 1986	T. Nagel, 'Kisas al-Anbiyâ', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, Nouvelle Edition, Vol. 5, Paris & Leiden 1986, 177–178.
Okasha 1981	S. Okasha, *The Muslim Painter and the Divine*, London 1981.
Porter 1992	Y. Porter, *Peinture et Arts du Livre, Essai sur la Littérature Technique Indo-Persane*, Paris and Louvain 1992.
Ricolès 1996	F. de Ricolès, *Miniatures et manuscrits orientaux, Vente aux enchères publiques*, 22 March 1996, Paris 1996.
Rieu 1881	Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Library*, Vol. I, London 1881.
Robinson 1982	B.W. Robinson, 'A Survey of Persian Painting (1350–1896)', *Art et Societé dans le Monde Iranien*, ed. C. Adle, Paris 1982, 13–82.
Robinson 1989	B.W. Robinson, 'Qajar Laquer', *Muqarnas* 6, 1989,131–145.
Rosenthal 1971	F. Rosenthal, 'A note on the Mandîl', *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam*, ed. F. Rosenthal, Leiden 1971, 78–81.
Schmitz 1992	B. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, New York & Oxford 1992.
Souçek 1988	P.P. Souçek, 'The Life of the Prophet: Illustrated Versions', *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World, Paper from a Colloquium in memory of Richard Ettinghausen*, Inst. of Fine Arts New York University 2–4 April 1980, Plates and organisation C. Manson, ed. P. Souçek, London 1988, 193–209.

Digitized by Google

Sourdel 1963	D. Sourdel, 'A Propos des dix élus', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 31, 1963, 111–114.
Storey 1927–39	C.A. Storey, 'Quranic Literature; History and Biography' *Persian Literature, A Bibliographical Survey*, Vol. I, London 1927–39.
Subtelny 1993	M.E. Subtelny, 'Mîr 'Alî Shîr Nawâ'î', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, Nouvelle Edition, Vol 7, Paris & Leiden, 91–95.
Tanindi 1984	Z. Tanindi, *Siyer-i Nebî, An Illustrated Cycle of the Life of Muhammad and its place in Islamic Art*, Hürriet Foundation, Istanbul 1984.
Tauer 1968	F. Tauer, 'Persian Learned Literature from its beginnings up to the end of the 18th century', *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. J. Rypka, Dordrecht 1968, 419–480.
Titley 1977	N.M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts and their Influence on the Art of Turkey and India*, The British Library Collections, London 1977.
Titley 1979	N.M. Titley, 'Persian Miniature Painting: The Repetition of compositions During the Fifteenth century', *Akten des VII Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie*, Munich, 7–10 September 1976, Berlin 1979, 471–491
Zetterstén 1930	K.V. Zetterstén, *Arabische, Persische und Türkische Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala*, Uppsala 1930.

[1] Rieu 1881, 146, translates the title as follows: "The Garden of the beloved, the history of the prophet, his family and his companions".

[2] 1899–1972.

[3] A catalogue of selected objects of the collection, including an article upon the life of Dr. Georg von Békésy, was made by the Nobel Foundation, see *The Georg von Békésy Collection. Selected objects from the collection of Georg von Békésy bequeathed to the Nobel Foundation*, ed. J. Wirgin, Malmö 1974.

[4] For a more detailed study of this manuscript, I refer to my Maîtrise, *La datation d'une copie du Rawzat al-Ahbâb fi Siyar al-Nabi wa al-Âhl wa al-Ashâb, Les différents angles d'approche ne comblent pas les incertitudes*, Sorbonne-Paris IV October 1997, written under the direction of Professor Marianne Barrucand.

[5] *Jamâl al-Husaini* was a descendant of a *Sayyid* family from the city of Shirâz but lived and worked in Herât during the reign of Sultan *Husayn Baykara*, the last important Timurid king. According to the historian *Khwandamîr* in his *Habib al-Siyar*, *Jamâl al-Husaini* was one of the most important theologians and historians of his time. He taught for many years in the Madrasa of Sultaniyeh and preached also in the Friday mosque of Herât. *Khwandamîr* describes him as a man who had chosen to lead his life in retirement from the outer world, completely devoted to his work and religious beliefs.

[6] Subtelny 1993. *Amîr Alî Shir Nava'i* (deceased in 906 AH (AD 1501), was a close friend of and in the service of Sultan *Husayn Bayqara* (see note 5). He was also a poet, writing in Caghatay (oriental Turkish) as well as Persian. Finally he was also a great patron of the arts.

[7] Storey 1927–39, 189–192. By Tauer (1968, 449–51), it is said to be a follower of the work *Shavâhidu'n-nubûva* (The proof of prophecy), a biographical work on the Prophet's life, written by the well-known poet *Jâmî* some years before the *Rawzat al-Ahbâb*.

Digitized by Google

[8] The Muezzin is the man who calls the faithful to prayer. The first one was the Ethiopian *Bilal*, who was one of Muhammad's first followers. *Bilal* is represented in the illustrations of this manuscript as a black man and is put in a position close to the Prophet (see Folios 28 a, 300 a, 343 a).

[9] For a resumé of the context, see Rieu 1881, 146–47, Blochet 1905–34, Vol. I, paragraph 378, and Vol. IV, paragraph 2300; Storey 1927–39, 189.

[10] An example of these can be seen in Bosch, Carswell & Petersbridge 1981, pl. 86.

[11] This was stated by Yves Porter, Maître de Conférence at the University of Aix en Provence, when I showed him the photographs from the manuscript on the 7th of March 1997.

[12] The colophon has been translated by Shoukoufeh Taghi, a student of Persian literature at Uppsala University. She was asked by Karin Ådahl, curator at the Medelhavsmuseet, to translate some parts of the manuscript.

[13] As far as I know, the only complete translation of this manuscript is in Turkish. It is described in *Mélanges Asiatiques* V, 1864–68, 470.

[14] Parts of the text have been translated by my colleague, Mansoor Hosseni. Even though a relation between the text and the illustrations cannot be confirmed with certainty, the text seems to correspond to the iconography of the miniatures.

[15] Many works treat this kind of illumination, see for example Akimushkin & Ivanov 1979, 37, 39, fig. 43 – a double frontispiece from Shiraz, 1520; Akimushkin & Ivanov 1979, fig. 21 – a double frontispiece from Herât, 1490; Schmitz 1992, fig. 48 – a double frontispiece from Tabrîz, 1530.

[16] The flame-halo probably originates from Buddhistic art and was then introduced and adapted to Persian miniature painting. From the 15th century on it became the Prophet's symbol. During the 16th century, the Prophet's face was usually veiled and later on his presence in a miniature would be suggested only by a flame. In Shiite painting, these flame-haloes are also used for "the Holy Family" (*Alî, Fâtima, Hassan, Husain*).

[17] Other examples of this composition can be seen in Robinson 1982, 63, fig. 33 – Khamza of Nizami, Bukhara, 1540–49, from the Kevorkian Collection; Schmitz 1992, fig. 143 – made in Teheran 1858; Berlin 1984, fig. 25, Ms Orient P 78 – a lacquer cover in Tabrîz-Qazwîn style.

[18] An example of this composition is published in Schmitz 1992, fig. 94 – *Shahnamê* from Shirâz, 1616.

[19] And 1974, fig. 64, from a *Hadikat as-Sua'da* from Baghdad, late 16th century, now in the British Museum, BM or. 7238.

[20] See Souçek 1988, fig. 8. The fight between *Amr* and *Alî*, (Freer Gallery 47.19).

[21] See for instance Titley 1979, fig. 13, The battle of the tribes, from a *Layli wa Madjnûn* in the British Library, Add 27261.

[22] Inal 1979, 438–448 mentions that the tradition of showing this kind of realistic, intimate scene starts off with the Bizadh style. As an example of this he has published a representation of "The murder of *Khushraw Parviz*", from a *Shahnamê* from the Topkapi Saray, R. 1548.444. A composition similar to that of Folio 211 b can be seen in Berlin 1984, 41. It represents *Humay* and *Humayûn* in bed.

[23] *Umâr ibn al-Khattâb* was one of the first Muslims and the second, rightful caliph, who ruled from A.D. 634 to 644.

[24] This scene is published in Okasha 1981, fig. 11, from a "*Rawzat al-Sawfa*" illustrated in Cairo in 1596–97.

[25] The *Muhabhala* is mentioned in the Koran, for example, 'Abdullah Yusuf 1989, II:107, III:52–54, 61, and V:16, or Buhl 1993, 375.

[26] One example of "The Prophet enthroned" can be seen in Souçek 1988, fig. 1, Freer Gallery 29.26r.

[27] Another "Lamentation of the prophet" can be seen in the *Siyar-i Nabî* from the Topkapi Palace Library, see Tanindi 1984, fig 87.

[28] See Rosenthal 1971, 79–81, who has studied the iconographic meanings of the use

Digitized by Google

of the *mandil*, a handkerchief for drying tears.

[29] Since the Shiite Muslims believe that the sons of *Alî* are the rightful successors of the Prophet

[30] Sourdel (1963, 112–114) gives several different possibilities of composition.

[31] These episodes are mentioned in Buhl 1993.

[32] This special kind of representations is treated by Bayle 1992. Their shape is very similar to the talismanic design on Folio 413.

[33] This was noticed by Mr. Yves Porter (supra n. 10), on seeing the three other talismanic designs.

[34] These three manuscripts can be found in Blochet 1905–34, as BN Sup. Pers 1822, folio 171 b, BN Sup. Pers 1853, folio 483 b, and BN Sup. Pers 140 A, folio 334b. See also Ricolès 1996, fig. 33, where an Ottoman prayer book containing a representation of the Prophet's sandal is published.

[35] These characteristics are mentioned by Inal 1979, 444.

[36] The realistic character of this blue sky is rarely found in 16th-century Persian painting and looks quite occidental. Occidental influences commonly occur in Persian and in Turkish miniature painting from the 18th century on, as mentioned by Diba 1989, 148.

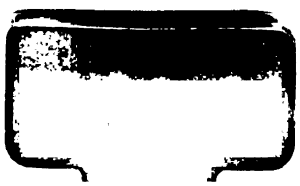
[37] Gray (1961, 151) mentions the golden skies as one of the main characteristics of the Bukharan school.

[38] Baer 1992, 378–379. One of these boxes comes from the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin and the other one from the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Cologne. Kühnel determined these boxes as Safavid. Further studies by E. Grube and E. Baer have led to the conclusion that the fabrication of these two boxes can be localised in 19th-century Teheran, see Baer 1992, 378–379.

[39] Robinson 1989, 140. It was made by ateliers in 18th- and 19th-century Teheran specialized in this "pseudo-Safavid" style. According to him this style is most frequently found on lacquer-work, but occasionally also in manuscripts. An example of lacquer-work is a late 19th-century mirror case (see his fig. 14). An Ottoman example from a manuscript of a similar style has been published by Schmitz 1992, fig. 289, showing a young man enthroned.

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 06338 4401



Digitized by Google

MEDELHAVSMUSEET
Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities

Memoirs, Vol. 1, 1977, 120 pp.
Erik Hallager, The Mycenaean Palace at Knossos.
Evidence for Final Destruction in the IIIB Period.

Memoirs, Vol. 2, 1977, 58 pp., 8 colour pls. and 45 bl/wh pls.
Vassos Karageorghis, Carl-Gustaf Styrenius & Marie-Louise Winbladh,
Cypriote Antiquities in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

Memoirs, Vol. 3, 1979, 80 pp.
Beate George & Bengt Peterson,
Die Karnak-Zeichnungen von Baltzar Cronstrand 1836–1837.

Memoirs, Vol. 4, 1983, 92 pp.
Mary Blomberg, Observations on the Dodwell Painter.

Memoirs, Vol. 5, 1984, 82 pp., 38 pls., out of print.
Ingegerd Lindblad,
Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt.

Memoirs, Vol. 6, 1987, 96 pp., cloth.
Charlotte Scheffer, Roman Cinerary Urns in Stockholm Collections.

Memoirs, Vol. 7, 1987, 143 pp., cloth.
Paradeisos. A Late Neolithic Settlement in Aegean Thrace. Ed. by P. Hellström.

Memoirs, Vol. 8, 1992, 196 pp., cloth.
Gunnel Hult, Nitovikla Reconsidered.

Memoirs, Vol. 9, 1994, 77 pp.
The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. The Living Past. Ed. by E. Rystedt.

Back volumes of Bulletin 4–5, 7–12 and 16–30 are available.
Volumes 7–8 and 10 are monographs:
Vol. 7–8, *Bengt Peterson,*
Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt. Bildostraka aus Theben-West, ihre Fundplätze, Themata und Zweckbereiche mitsamt einem Katalog der Gayer-Anderson-Sammlung in Stockholm.
Vol. 10, *Beate George,*
Frühe Keramik aus Ägypten. Die dekorierte Negadeh II-Keramik im Medelhavsmuseet.

Distribution: Almqvist & Wiksell International, P.O. Box 7634, SE-103 94 Stockholm, Sweden.
Telephone: +46 8 613 61 33. Fax + 46 8 24 25 43.
E-mail: info@awi.akademibokhandeln.se
ISSN 0585-3214

Digitized by Google